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FOREWORD

With the exception of the Introduction and the Conclusion, all the articles and notes, brought together in this volume, originally appeared in *The Modern Review*. They have been revised, and slight additions and alterations have been made in a few places.

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INTRODUCTION

The outbreak of the Indian Mutiny convinced the English people that it was no longer expedient or necessary to bring more and more territories of the "heathen" princes under Christian rule, but that it was necessary to consolidate their power in India. For once they thought of issuing the word of command, "Halt", rather than that of "Quick March." It was necessary to take stock of what they already possessed and to have a firm control over the same. The idea of consolidating their power in India was never absent from the minds of those who had been connected with Indian affairs ever since the Battle of Plassey. This was but natural for the scheming and designing empire-builders of England. They had been discussing for nearly a century, the *pros* and *cons* of all the methods that had been suggested for consolidating their power. But the Indian revolt brought all those proposals to a focus, as it were, for their readily carrying them into execution. It is necessary to indicate the proposals which were suggested for consolidating their power in India.

The first and foremost proposal was the abolition of the East India Company and the bringing

of India under the direct rule of the sovereigns of England. How this was carried into effect has already been mentioned in the fifth volume of *Rise of the Christian Power in India*.

The next important proposal was the Colonization of India. This subject has been discussed in the present writer's brochure on the Colonization of India by Europeans.

Thus it would seem that, from every point of view, the Mutiny was a very fortunate thing for the people of England, to whom it appeared like a God-sent occurrence; for it enabled them to exploit India under the euphemistic phrase of development of its resources, to employ a larger number of their kith and kin in India, to force a large number of British soldiers on India, and to keep India in debt, of which they were the creditors.

Another thing which, whether done with that purpose or not, has contributed to the consolidation of the Christian Power in India, is the habit of very many British authors and bureaucrats of disparaging the Indian character, intellect and capacity. In their opinion, Indians are not truthful, not honest, not fit for military or political leadership, not possessed of originality in science and philosophy, and so on and so forth. Hence, in their opinion, India must, for ever, remain under the tutelage of some powerful nation—by preference,

of the British nation, the strongest and best of them of all !

These persons also hold that Indians are lacking in initiative and driving power, and are inefficient. In their opinion, these defects, being racial, are inherent in them and cannot be eradicated. They also try to make Indians believe that "religious" and other riots, dissensions and conflicts are peculiar to India and, consequently, there can never be a united Indian nation.

It cannot be denied that these half-truths and falsehoods have hypnotized large numbers of Indians. And this, too, has contributed not a little to the consolidation of the Christian Power in India.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE CHRISTIAN POWER IN INDIA

I

THE PRESERVATION OF THE NATIVE STATES OF INDIA

So far no writer has taken the trouble to analyse the motives which influenced the British authorities to give up the policy of annexing the Native States governed by "heathen" princes. It was more often by fraud than by show of force that those States were brought under the jurisdiction of the British Government. It was the policy of the East India Company to dye the whole map of India red and not to leave a single ruling prince in any part of this country. But the mischievous nature of this policy was being exposed by several thoughtful and far-seeing statesmen in England a few years before the outbreak of the Sepoy Mutiny. They wrote and said that the policy was neither ethically just, nor politically expedient, nor financially sound. These publications of the India Reform Society—the speeches in

Parliament, the agitation in England by the agents of some of the deposed princes, had, to a certain extent, the effect of making the natives of England revise their opinion regarding the annexation of the Native States.

Mr. John Sullivan pleaded the cause of the Indian Princes very powerfully and exposed the injustice done to them by the absorption of their territories. In his well-known pamphlet, "Are we bound by our Treaties?" being "A plea for the princes of India, published in 1853," he said :

"When a question of this kind (i.e., appropriating the territory of an Indian prince), or any question relating to India, is proposed for our consideration, it behoves us to examine it under a fivefold aspect ;

"Firstly, is it just ?

"Secondly, will it improve the character of the people ? Or will it deteriorate that character ?

"Thirdly, will it conciliate their affections ? Or will it alienate them ?

"Fourthly, will it consolidate our power, or will it weaken it ?

"Fifthly, will it enrich, or will it impoverish us ?"

The consideration of the question under the first four headings did not trouble the Christians of England so much as did the last one. They used to look upon the annexation of a Native State as a distinct gain to England. Wrote Mr. Sullivan in another part of the above-named pamphlet :

"Not content with proclaiming our intention to exclude them (the natives of India) from every high office in our own territory, till they are 'Christianised and civilised'; not content with confiscating the Jagheers and Enams which have been granted to the natives by former Governments; we have now marked whole sovereignties for our prey, and this that we may open fresh fields of employment for our own countrymen. Five native states have fallen within the last ten years. If we put on one side of the account what the natives have gained by the few offices that have been lately opened to them, with what they have lost by the extermination of these States, we shall find the net loss to be immense, and what the native loses, the Englishman gains. Upon the extermination of a Native State the Englishman takes the place of the sovereign, under the name of Commissioner; three or four of his associates displace as many dozen of the native official aristocracy; while some hundreds of our troops take the place of the many thousands that every native chief supports. The little court disappears, trade languishes, the capital decays, the people are impoverished, the Englishman flourishes and acts like a sponge, drawing up riches from the banks of the Ganges and squeezing them down upon the banks of the Thames."

Mr. John Sullivan's plea for the native princes does not seem to have had any effect on the hard-hearted Christians of England. What did it matter to them whether the policy of annexation of Native States was just or improved the character of the people or caused loss to the revenue of India, so long as it extended the market for their goods and provided careers for their "boys"?

Philanthropy or altruism did not influence them as did the consideration of pounds, shillings and pence. It was necessary, therefore, to show them that, if the policy pursued in India towards the "heathen" princes was not given up, it would ultimately touch their pockets.

So in the *India Reform Tract*, No. 11. published in 1853, is was stated

"that whilst we have not trebled our revenues, we have increased our debt more than sixfold and we are at this moment adding to that debt in order to make good deficiencies of income.

"We seem, therefore, to have been imitating the example of the man 'greedy of acres' in this country who borrows money at five per cent in order to purchase an estate which will barely yield him three. We have been urged on in this 'earth hunger' first, by a notion that extension of territory is the necessary consequence of a successful war ; secondly, that territory must needs be as profitable in our hands as in the hands of its native owners.....it was the opinion both of Clive and Hastings—certainly very competent judges—that the extension of our territory beyond the Bengal provinces would be a burden instead of a benefit. Locking at the question merely with reference to finance, the soundness of their opinion cannot be questioned. The more territory, the more debt, and why ? Because we, foreigners, cannot make territory as profitable as its native owners.....

"We have shown that the more territory we get, the heavier are our embarrassments. In the year 1792, the year in which we first began to extend our dominion, we had a surplus revenue of nearly a million, the

debt in that year was not equal to the annual revenue, nor the interest to one-sixteenth of the revenue. After having enormously increased our territory, we have an annual deficit of upwards of a million sterling.....

"It may be, at no distant period, the unpleasant duty of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to renew those applications for loans in aid of the finances of India which were not unfrequently made in the early part of the century ;—such a prospect, however disagreeable, is before us.

The India Reform Society, of which Mr. John Dickinson, *Junior*, was the Secretary and the life and soul, did not remain content with the publication of the above-named tract only, but soon after published two more tracts (which have been reprinted by the present writer)—namely Nos. IV & IX, entitled "The Native States of India," and "The State and Government of India under its Native Rulers", respectively, in which attempts were made to show that the Native States were not worse governed than any province of India then under the administration of the Christians. But the publications of the India Reform Society in 1853 did not seem to have any immediate effect on the minds of the Christian authorities in England or in India. For, we find that two important Native States—Nagpore and Oude, were uncere- moniously annexed in 1854 and 1856 respectively.

It was after the annexation of the Musalman State of Oude that Sir Erskine Perry delivered

his powerful speech in the House of Commons on April 18th, 1856, in which, referring to the deficit in Indian finance, he said that the true causes of the deficit were the annexations.

"First of all, remarkably enough, it will be found that nearly every annexation during the last few years, operates as a dead loss to the revenues, even on its civil charges alone...

"But it is to take a very inadequate view of the value of annexations if we do not consider the cost of military occupation and defence of whatever that may be...

"I ask, if any immediate advantage to be obtained in revenue or police can compensate for the destruction of our moral influence and the weakening of the faith in British morality which every violation of principle is sure to create in the native mind.

He concluded his powerful speech by saying,

"The difficulty to retrace our steps, a consciousness of my insignificance and inability to arouse this assembly, would have probably kept me silent, if there had been no future before me. But annexation has not yet half performed its work...Even now, the Indian Press, backed up by still more powerful organs of Indian opinion in this country, are hounding on the Indian authorities to annex the Nizam's territory. Next will present itself the fertile territory of Malwa with its inexhaustible black soil, so rich in cotton and opium. Guzerat, still more fertile, and with the best cultivators in India, adjoins it, and is even more tempting. Rajputana, and the rest of the sixty millions, will follow as a matter of course.

"I trust that even on financial considerations the House will pause awhile before it lends its assent and approval to these annexation doctrines. But on the still

higher grounds of right and justice, on the obligation, which rests upon this nation as a great Christian Power to prove by our example and conduct in the East the superiority of that pure religion we profess, and of that morality of which we are always boasting, I do earnestly hope that some of the observations I have made, but especially the opinions of the illustrious men I have quoted,* will induce the House to interpose by its authority, by its inquiries, by its protection of those interests committed by Providence to our control, and check that headstrong propensity in our Indian rulers to territorial aggrandizement, which, if not founded on right and justice, must tarnish the British name and ultimately imperil the permanence of our Government in the East."

The concluding words, "and ultimately imperil the permanence of our Government in the East", seemed to possess the ring of prophecy in them ; for the Indian Mutiny broke out within a year of their utterance. It was the Mutiny which made the British Christians reconsider the expediency or otherwise of absorbing the Native States.

The agents of some of the deposed or ill-treated princes were spending money in England in hiring advocates to secure justice to their masters. But not in a single instance did they meet with success. Those 'heathen' or Moslem agents, irrespective of their sex or position in life, received scant courtesy, rather in several instances positive

* These opinions will be found in the *India Reform Tracts* Nos. IV and IX, reprinted by the present writer.

rudeness, at the hands of the Christian authorities there. One has to turn to the "*Story of Satara*" for the ill treatment of Rango Bapuji, the agent of the deposed Raja of Satara, and to Appendix B of the present writer's reprint of "*Dacoitee in Excelsis*" for the treatment meted out to the Queen-mother of the King of Oude in England. It cannot be denied, however, that the agitation in England of the agents of the Indian princes called the attention of the natives of that country to the affairs of India. Even the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny did not prevent the annexationists from advocating their policy. Thus, one anonymous Christian author, who was evidently ashamed to give out his name, in a pamphlet named "Indian Policy", published from London in 1858, wrote :—

"The great object in annexing subsidiary princes is the transfer to the Indian Treasury of the land revenue, which they dissipate in the worst manner. Moreover, the armies of native Princes would be abolished.....A fresh objection to the advantages to the Government of total annexation is that the subsidiary princes have stood by us in the revolt, and that it is our policy to maintain them—a miserable exposure of ignorance in those who uphold it. No large subsidiary prince in India could stand an hour without support...it is our army which keeps them on their thrones, and assures them the payment of their splendid incomes...I prefer the support of the four or five millions sterling still reclaimable in land revenue.

"So much for the advantages to the British Government, now for the advantages to the people...With five millions sterling more per annum, we might abolish the salt-tax (a horrible cruelty, so bad that if we cannot keep India without it, it is almost a proof we ought to leave); we might engage to a respectable extent in public works; we might really commence the education of India...What right have we to throw away land revenue in one place, while we oppress the people with a salt-tax in another? What right have we, by virtue of what we call a treaty, to enable by our arms a sovereign to keep his throne who oppresses his people, who takes their surplus produce and squanders it, whom they would instantly dethrone but for us? Who had the power to make any such treaty? Had we any power to give a people for ever into the hands of a sovereign who neglects all his duties to them? Had such a sovereign (sometimes a stranger, entirely of our selection) any power to create the sacred right of Kings in himself by such a treaty?.....Talk not of treaties; they were illegal in their nature: let us not, at all events, if we have made a wicked oath, so much the more wickedly perform the same.

"Moreover, I say, the revenues of princes, whether territorial or not, are in trust for the people; when that trust is not fulfilled, the revenue passes to the succeeding Government.....

"I consider the policy and justice (in the real sense of the word) of annexation so clear, that I should be prepared to sacrifice personal interests considerably to carry it out.....It will be objected here by some,—but what authority have we English to depose any native prince? I might reply with the counter question,—what authority have we to support any native prince? Or, to state my reply more fairly, I refuse to argue the

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question of authority altogether.....Our Government now carefully abstains from treaties which covenant that we are never to take possession, to prevent such in future.

"Total annexation, however, being our duty, it must be gone through with, and I would suggest the following milder method of carrying it out as worthy of consideration. I would not dethrone any prince now living, but annex the dominions of each when he died.....The treaty difficulty might, perhaps, be hushed up as follows:—when our supremacy is fully re-established, it might be explained by the Governor-General to the native princes, that the British system in India would undergo considerable change necessarily, but offer to them their kingdoms for life, on condition that they nominate the Queen of England their successor. I apprehend that, if judiciously timed, the native princes would comply with this modest request."

Modest request indeed! Such were the arguments and proposals of those Christians of England who were clamouring for the total annexation of the territories in the possession of the "heathen" princes of India.

The annexationists used to justify the annexation of the Punjab on the ground that it helped the English in suppressing the Mutiny. It was convenient for them to ignore the fact that it could not join the Mutiny for some of the reasons stated in the 'Rise of the Christian Power in India,' Vol. V.

It was very forcibly held by the British Army. Wrote the *Indian News* of 27th July, 1858 :—

"It justifies self-esteem to aver that our admirable administration of the Punjab saved India. On this verdict we entertain very serious doubts,.....

".....we drained not only Bengal proper, but the North-Western Provinces, of about four-fifths of the European troops that formerly were stationed in them, that we might transfer them to the Punjab. When the British frontier rested on the Sutlej, it did not extend much beyond 70 miles ; but when our rule of the Punjab in the name of Duleep Singh failed, we found a solution of the difficulty in the gratification of our grasping propensities. So we took to ourselves the inheritance of our ward and made the Punjab British ; then in lieu of 70, our frontier extended over 700 miles. The inhabitants of the new acquisition were disarmed, and our old provinces were almost denuded of European troops ; all being required to keep the Punjab in order, as well as to swell its revenue returns by the army expenditure. The bayonet held our new possession because all or nearly all the European army was required to hold the Punjab in the bayonet form in which we were ruling. Yet we are told, the Punjab saved India, our reading being that the Punjab nearly cost us India

"None can question that India was nearly drained of European troops that the disarmed Punjab might be kept in subjection ; nor can any deny that our generals were crippled—unable to dash at Delhi before the mutineers swarmed to that capital, because of the army located in the Punjab. It is equally clear that, had the ill-used Dost Mahomed desired it, he would have found a swarm of Afghans ready to aid in recovering Peshawar,...It is, to our understanding, an error to say that the Punjab saved India ; it was instrumental

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in nearly losing us that country ; it was the cause why the mutiny was not crushed at once, why it gained strength...We have now in place of the Bengal Army 82,000 Punjabees in our service. No option was felt perhaps but to entertain them. They are good soldiers while their enlistment at the opening of the mutiny was removing from their homes to a distance men perhaps not to be trusted at such a time in their villages."

It did not appear expedient to the British politicians and statesmen to yield to the agitation of the Christian annexationists. They saw that annexations not only meant financial ruin to India, but created discontent and disaffection in the disbanded soldiery of the annexed Native States which might again produce another Mutiny. Sir Thomas Munro had already sounded a note of warning as to the danger to India from the unemployment of the aristocracy and disbanded sepoys of the annexed States. He wrote :

"The native army would be joined by all that numerous and active class of men formerly belonging to revenue and police departments, who are now unemployed and by many now in office, who look for higher situations, and by means of these men, they would render themselves masters of the open country, and of its revenue :.....

The outbreak of the Indian Mutiny showed that Sir Thomas Munro was not a false prophet. The Christian statesmen and politicians of England could not ignore the warning of the Governor of Madras.

Then again, the native Sepoy was looked upon as a mere mercenary. It was necessary to make the Native States the recruiting ground for the men of the Native Regiments. These men, being foreigners, would not make common cause with the subjects of the British Indian Government. There was no danger of the outbreak of another Mutiny in the future.

Thus, it will be seen that it was not from any motive of philanthropy, altruism or justice that the policy of the annexation of the Native States was given up, and the doctrine of "Lapse" was knocked on the head.

II

THE CHRISTIANISATION OF INDIA

After the Sepoy Mutiny, zealous Christians were not tired of saying over and over again that their power in India would not be consolidated, and the occurrence of mutinies in future would not be prevented, unless and until India was converted to their creed. The ministers of that faith were often heard saying after the suppression of the Indian Mutiny :

“Our enemies were the Muhammadans whose creed we had flattered, the Hindus whose superstitions we had humoured, but our true friends were the native Christians whom the missionaries had converted.”

It was not convenient for these pious Christians to state what services their converted co-religionists rendered to Government during the Mutiny, or what was their numerical strength at that time in this country.

It was from motives of political expediency that zealous Christians wanted to see a portion only and not the whole of the “heathen” population of India embrace their creed. Wrote one Mr. William Edwards, who served in India during the days of the Indian Mutiny and rose afterwards to be a judge of the Agra High Court :

"We are, and ever must be, regarded as foreign invaders and conquerors, and the more the people become enlightened and civilised the more earnest will, in all probability, be their efforts to get rid of us. Our best safeguard is in the evangelization of the country ; for although Christianity does not denationalize, its spread would be gradual, and Christian settlements scattered about the country would be as towers of strength for many years to come, for they must be loyal as long as the mass of the people remain either idolators or Mahomedans."

There was a time when the Christian authorities did not allow the ministers of their faith to settle in India to preach the Gospel to the "heathens." But as they became strong, they did not scruple to allow missionaries to freely invade India, to openly insult and abuse the faiths of the non-Christians of this land and adopt such measures as were calculated to encourage them to be converted to Christianity. The greatest "reformer" in this line was Lord William Bentinck. While Governor of Madras, his open encouragement to the Missionaries in that Presidency* was responsible not a little for the Mutiny at Vellore. As Governor-General of India, he tried to continue the same policy which he had commenced in Madras. Thus, in 1852, we find him passing a regulation which was a great inducement to the "heathens" to forsake the faith of their ancestors.

* See Vol. III, pp. 484 and 485 of the *Rise of the Christian Power in India*.

The Hindu family system is what is known as the "joint family" system. The property of the family belonged in common to all the members of the family. They had collective right to it. But if a member of the joint-family lost caste from any cause, he was debarred from enjoying the benefit of the family property. But Bentinck introduced the innovation that the "heathen" proselyte to Christianity did not lose his share in the family property, (notwithstanding the fact that he thereby threw himself outside the pale of caste).

Bentinck selected Macaulay to preside over the deliberations of the Anglicists and the Orientalists, because the latter shared his views as regards Anglicisation and Evangelisation of India. Macaulay introduced English education, because, as he wrote to his father in 1836 :—

"The effect of this education on Hindus is prodigious. No Hindu who has received an English education ever remains sincerely attached to his religion. Some continue to profess it as a matter of policy, but many profess themselves pure Deists and some embrace Christianity. It is my firm belief that if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolator among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence."

The Christian missionaries or the ministers of that persuasion, such as Bishops and Chaplains, were generally not popular in India with non-Christians. This unpopularity was not due so much to their belonging to a religion which was

not the creed of any large section of the people of this country, as to their want of sympathy with Indians. There were, no doubt, a few honourable exceptions, but as a class they belonged to what a Christian writer styled "Flogging Missionaries."* This is not to be wondered at when we remember how the clergymen even in England behave towards their "flock" in rural portions of that land. An English author writes of

"the widespread unpopularity of the rural clergy and the neglect of the Church's ministrations—the clergy have always identified themselves with one political party—the party which more especially in rural districts stands for the defence of property, privileges and social influence. Mr. Masterman's dictum that no established Church had ever been on the side of the poor is supported by ample testimony from our country parishes.

"The clergy, with rare and noble exceptions, * * * threw in their lot with the wealthy and powerful men who through the Enclosures period gradually robbed the peasants of their land. In earlier centuries, while the poor farmers and serfs were outraged, pillaged, branded, slaughtered by foreign mercenaries, hung in batches from steeples and gallows and atrociously mutilated, the Church of Christ looked on, almost in silence. When hundreds of men and boys were banished for ever from England under the cruel sentences of the Swing Riots period, the cathedral clergy at

* See "History of Education in India under the Rule of the East India Company", pp. 207—208.

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Winchester refused to sign the great petition for merciful mitigation of these inhuman penalties.”*

The missionaries and the clergymen in India were not recruited from the best educated or upper classes of English society. It is also a complaint in England that even there the clergymen are mediocre in ability. The author quoted above writes :—

“It is abundantly clear from the current experience of any Oxford or Cambridge ‘don’ that the abler men at the Universities do not as a rule take Holy Orders, and that of the undergraduates who become clergymen, the least efficient tend to occupy the country livings.”†

Little wonder then that in India, the Christian Missions proved a failure. Wrote the *Calcutta Review* (Vol. XXX) :—

“We have not bestowed sufficient attention on the fitness of the special instruments of those undertakings—our missionaries to wit—or the propriety and judiciousness of their *modus operandi*.”

But notwithstanding all the efforts of Government to encourage conversion of the heathens, the Christians accused the Government of doing little for the salvation of the souls of the non-Christians. Wrote the *Calcutta Review* :—

“A pious nobleman, or a zealous and well-meaning

* *Problems of Village Life*. By R. N. Benett (Home University Library of Modern Knowledge). Pp. 128-129.

† *Ibid*, p. 128.

prelate, viewing the remarkable spread of the Gospel in the recent field of New Zealand or the still more remarkable success of the Spanish government in proselytising the population of the Phillipine Islands and other regions subject to its authority, is prone to raise his voice in indignant exclamations against the backwardness of the same cause in British India, and with a degree of fervour, more admirable than the quantity of his information or his logic, he straightway saddles the responsibility of this non-success on the broad and convenient back of the Anglo-Indian government.

"In this country every sort of enterprise and undertaking is too much in the leading strings of Government. A railway cannot be projected, a canal or anicut proposed, or a steamboat company started, save under the auspices of Government and under the fostering nourishment of a Government guarantee. So, in religious matters, we are too prone to look for the nursing offices of the Government. But this is a radical mistake.....The Government ought to, and naturally will, ardently desire, and as far that may be possible or fitting, *indirectly* promote the conversion of the people from a noxious to a beneficial creed."...*The Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXX. "The Indian Question.

Because the Christian rule in the Punjab was established by peculiarly Christian methods, therefore, ever since its annexation, attempts were being made to convert it into a model Christian province. The men at the helm of its affairs were highly professing Christians—men like Sir Henry and

Sir John Lawrence, Sir Robert Montgomery,* Mr. Donald McLeod, and Colonel H. B. Edwardes. Some of these officers were of opinion that the teaching in the Missionary schools was superior to that in the Government schools in that province. Thus Mr. McLeod in his Minute on Education, written in 1853, said :—

* Sir Robert Montgomery, the first Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, possessed the reputation of being a very zealous Christian. One of his co-religionists and compatriots has mentioned one of his pious acts on a Sabbath day as follows :—

"Mr. Martin quotes in his "Progress and Present State of British India," a letter dated "Lahore Sunday, 9 A. M., wherein the Lieutenant-Governor congratulates Mr. Frederick Cooper, one of his so-called hanging commissioners, in the warmest terms, on the manner in which the 20th Regiment of Native Infantry had been by him blotted out of the book of life for some imagined signs of disaffection, adding, 'Three other regiments here were very shaky yesterday, but I hardly think they will go now. I wish they would, as they are a nuisance and not a man would escape if they do'. Mr. Martin holds that this rejoicing over the extermination of a thousand men, and eagerness to find a pretext for the destruction of three thousand more, reads strangely from the pen of one of the most prominent advocates for the propagation of Christianity in India, but it explains in his eyes why our success as subjugators has been attended by failure as evangelists'". Pp. 102-103 of "The Company and the Crown" by the Hon'ble T. J. Hovell-Thurlow 1867.

"Under ordinary circumstances, it is, I think, vain to expect that the Government school can compete in efficiency with the mission school, or that its teachers will show that devotedness to their task which usually characterizes the teacher who acts under the eye and influence of the Missionary.....and for these reasons,..... I would urge that.....Government would, in such cases, withdraw from the field, leaving it to be occupied by those who have benevolently entered on the task of maintaining a school, and are best fitted for its fulfilment."

Lord Dalhousie was the Governor-General of India at that time and he highly approved of what Mr. McLeod had written. In his Minute, dated June 1854, he wrote that McLeod

"urges not merely the inexpediency of establishing Government Schools in competition with Schools founded by Missionaries---but the strong expediency of supporting Missionary schools by public money when they really impart a good secular education and of increasing their efficiency by grants in aid.....

"I am of opinion that for these days we carry the principle of neutrality too far; that even in a political point of view, we err in ignoring so completely as we do the agency of ministers of our own true faith, in extending education among the people; and that the time has now come when grants of money in aid of secular education carried on in schools established and conducted by Christian missionaries might be made by the Government..."

The Court of Directors also approved of what Mr. McLeod and Lord Dalhousie had written. That body of eminent Christians wrote :—

"The attention which has been paid to the subject of education in the Punjab has given us sincere pleasure. We beg that you will communicate to "the Chief Commissioner, to Mr. Montgomery, to Mr. McLeod, and to the other officers generally, our warmest thanks for their exertions.....The soundness of the conclusions at which they have arrived, gives us, moreover, the best ground for anticipating that the success which they so justly merit will follow their exertions, and that the Punjab will present to the world a signal example of the benefits which British rule confers upon the natives of India."

That zealous Christian, Sir Herbert Edwardes, who had adopted peculiarly Christian methods* in the Multan campaign, recommended certain measures for adoption by the Indian Government to elevate that Government in the estimation of all Christian nations. He prepared a memorandum on 'The elimination of all un-Christian principles from the Government of British India.' According to him, the *un-Christian* elements in the Christian Government of India were as follows:—

"1. The exclusion of the Bible and Christian teaching from the Government schools and colleges.

"2. The endowment of idolatry and Mohammedanism by Government.

"3. The recognition of caste.

"4. The observance of native holidays in the various departments of State.

* See *Rise of the Christian Power in India*. Vol. V. Pp. 254-258.

"5. The administration by the British of Hindoo and Muhammadan laws, both criminal and civil.

"6. The publicity of heathen and Muhammadan processions.

"7. The public frequenting of streets by native prostitutes.

"8. The restrictions on the marriage of European soldiers, and the insufficient accommodation for married families in barracks.

"9. The connexion of the British Government with the opium trade.

"10. The Indian excise laws."

The last four elements were and are certainly objectionable; but the first six items relate to matters in which there ought not to be any Government interference.

Edwardes forwarded a copy of his memorandum to a high authority in England, who, it is presumed, was no other personage than the Christian Earl of Shaftesbury. This action of his was very adversely criticized by a fellow-countryman of his, who, under the pseudonym "Abd-Al-Wahid", wrote a pamphlet "on the Christian duty of the British Government in India", in which he said :—

"But admitting that Colonel Edwardes' views were as sound as it will be admitted on all sides that they are the contrary, there is a feature in this case, which will pass unnoticed, doubtless in England, but which can hardly do so here. Colonel Edwardes holds a very high position in this country—the highest almost to which an

officer can rise in regular succession:—and the question that is asked is, how far an officer in such a position is justified in submitting an *official* memorandum to a nobleman in England *to be used at discretion*, containing remarks not only disapproving *in toto* of the avowed policy of the Government he is serving, and which he is in his official capacity bound by every means in his power to aid in carrying out; but declaring the very Government itself to be based on anti-Christian principles.”

The proper place for the greater part of Colonel Edwardes' memorandum was the waste paper basket, but Sir John Lawrence, at that time the Chief Commissioner of the Panjab, to whom it was submitted, took it into serious consideration and made his secretary, Mr. (afterwards the well-known Sir Richard) Temple forward it to the Government of India with his observations on it. It so happened that, at that time, almost all the high Christian officers in the Panjab shared more or less the views expressed by Colonel Edwardes. The Chief Commissioner himself was not an exception. He also advocated the teaching of the Bible in Government schools and colleges. He was supported in this advocacy by Mr. Donald McLeod, the Financial Commissioner.

But his view was opposed by Mr. W. D. Arnold, the then Director of Public Instruction of the Panjab. He was a son of the famous Rev. Dr. Thomas Arnold of Rugby and was brought up under Christian influence from his cradle.

Had he been left to himself, it is almost certain that he would have also joined the Chief Commissioner in advocating the teaching of the Bible in Government schools and colleges. But, as was well-known in the Panjab at that time, in all matters regarding the administration of the Department of which he was the head, he was guided by his Head Assistant, Babu Shyama Charan Basu,* who had received his education in the Christian Seminary in Calcutta under the well-known missionary, Dr. Alexander Duff, whose favourite pupil he was, and served afterwards as the first Head Master of the American Mission School at Lahore. So he was well-acquainted with the Bible and its teachings. It was his influence over Mr. Arnold which made that son of a Christian divine oppose the teaching of the Bible in Government schools and colleges.

Regarding the opposition of Mr. Arnold, the Secretary, Mr. Temple, wrote in his letter to the Secretary to the Government of India under date Lahore, July 3rd, 1858:

"Mr. Arnold argues that to have even voluntary

* *The Indian Public Opinion*, at that time the only English daily in the Panjab and edited by Dr. G. W. Leitner, in its issue of 16th August, 1867, in the course of the obituary notice of Babu Shyama Charan wrote :—

"As Head Clerk of the Education Department, much of the credit assigned to its chief deservedly belongs to this well-known native gentleman..."

Bible classes in Government schools infringes the principle of religious neutrality; that hereby an undue advantage is given to Christianity, inasmuch as the teaching of the native religions is excluded from the said schools: that although the attendance at the classes may be meant to be voluntary, it will really be regarded otherwise; that it is impossible to distinguish the measure from 'proselytism,' and even from 'quiet persecution'; that as 'trustees for the people of India' we have no right to adapt our educational machinery, 'paid for by taxes from the country', for the virtual propagation of Christianity; that by introducing Christian teaching we launch into a sea of theological difficulty; and lastly, that by this measure we may possibly give rise to great political danger. The above arguments, and many others are urged by Mr. Arnold with much ability...But I am to state that these arguments are not at all concurred in by the Chief Commissioner.

"Mr. MacLeod has most justly observed that many of Mr. Arnold's arguments are based on the assumption that the British government stands in the same relation towards the people of India as a representative Government stands towards its people. But in the Chief Commissioner's opinion the two cases differ widely from each other. Placed as we British are in India, we are differently situated from the constitutional Governments of England or America.....If by being 'trustees for the people' we are supposed to be bound invariably by the will of the people, then we are not...trustees in that sense. We have not been elected or placed in power by the people, but we are here through our moral superiority, by the force of circumstances, by the will of Providence. This alone constitutes our charter to govern India.

The Chief Commissioner of the Panjab did a great injustice to Mr. Arnold when he made him appear as looking upon the Christian government of India as either a "constitutional" or "representative" one, based on the popular will or affections of the people. No, the Director of Public Instruction of the Panjab was as unsympathetic an Anglo-Indian bureaucrat and hater of the people of this country as any one of his co-religionists or compatriots then living. His article in the *Calcutta Review* for December, 1858, entitled "Indian Faults and English Calumnies," which was then published anonymously but was subsequently reprinted over his name in the Selections from that Review, bears evidence of the truth of our assertions. In that article Mr. Arnold wrote :—

"The English liberals have forgotten this essential distinction between Europe and Asia—or at any rate, between England and India—that, whereas you can scarcely govern the Englishman too little, you can scarcely govern the Indian too much.

.....The greatest insult you can offer an Englishman is to overgovern him ; the greatest oppression you can inflict on a Hindustani is to let him alone."

Mr. Arnold would not have left, had he his own way, a single Indian prince in the possession of his State ; for, according to him,

"It is still as true as ever it was that tall poppies are not safe."

Regarding annexation, he said :

"It nevertheless may often be, as it often has been, our plain duty and unavoidable task to annex, whether we like it or not.....

"Once concede that principle [of non-annexation] and we must quit India.....

"No amount of slippery rhetoric can disguise the fact that the aims, hopes, fears, desires, loves and hates, of an Asiatic and a European, are opposed the one to the other. So long as we are in this country, our history will consist in making the Asiatic view of life bend to the European. If this is tyranny, let us be gone. But if we stay, let us have no hypocrisy. We cannot and ought not to look on life with Asiatic eyes. Our tendency is, and must be, to Europeanize. Toleration, sympathy, tact may help, as they have helped, to make this process less obnoxious, become less palpable to the natives. But the process goes on and will go on. And with the people which has to yield to it, it never can and never will be popular.

".....But to high offices natives cannot be admitted, because, according to our ideas, they are not to be trusted. Are our ideas or theirs to prevail ? ...We cannot employ natives in high posts more than we have done ; the doubt is whether we can do so as much. Natives may be just as good as we are ; their morality may be as pure as ours, but it is *not ours*, but something very different ; and when the two moralities clash, we have expressed our opinion as to which must go to the wall."

The views relating to the teaching of the Bible in Government schools expressed in the Director's letter, which the Panjab Government thought so important as to transmit to the Government of

India, were those of his Bengalee Head Assistant, Babu Shyama Charan Basu, to whom it was then due that the teaching of the Bible was not introduced in the schools and colleges of this country. Although the Government of India did not openly countenance the conversion of the natives of India to Christianity, the Christian authorities encouraged the Christian missionaries in the propaganda of their religion and did all that lay in their power to make India a Christian country.

There can be little doubt that the Indian Mutiny of 1857 was caused in part by the zeal which the Christian officers of Indian regiments showed in proselytising the heathen and Mussalman sepoys. In a pamphlet written by a "Hindu of Bengal", dated Calcutta the 18th August, 1857, entitled "Causes of the Indian Revolt," published from London, by Edward Stanford, 6 Charing Cross, and edited by Mr. Malcolm Lewin, who served in India as Second Judge of the Supreme Court of Madras and Provisional Member of Government, it was stated :—

"At the beginning of the present year (1857) a great many Colonels in the Indian army were detected in a task not less monstrous and arduous than that of Christianizing it. It has afterwards transpired that some of these earnest but rather crack-brained worthies who have devoted their lives to the propagation of the Gospel among heathen nations, not quite satisfied with

the hope that English education will eventually make their fellow subjects in the East forsake their idols and evidently impatient of the slow progress which Christianity has hitherto made among the nations, entered the army ; not as a means of subsistence, not as the theatre of exertion most congenial to their temperaments, but solely and wholly for the purpose of conversion. The army was specially selected, as in times of peace it affords the utmost leisure to both soldiers and commanders, and as there heathens may be found in great abundance on all sides, without the trouble and expense, and other *et ceteras*, or scampering from village to village. Accordingly, these men launched themselves into their strange career with a zeal worthy of a better cause, and a determinedness but too little tempered by sober wisdom and even common prudence. They began preaching and distributing tracts and translations among the Hindu and Mahomedan officers and soldiers. In the beginning they were tolerated, sometimes with disgust, and sometimes with indifference. When, however, the thing *continued*, when the evangelizing endeavours became more serious and troublesome day by day, the sepoys of either persuasion felt alarmed. They thought that to allow such a thing with impunity was to leave unfulfilled a duty they owed to themselves, their ancestors and their faith. They held nightly meetings, but came to no resolution. In the meantime, the 'missionary colonels', and '*padre* lieutenants', as these curious *militaries* were called, were not inactive. Emboldened by the toleration of the sepoys, they grew more violent than ever. They were louder in their denunciations of Hindooism and Islamism. They were warmer in their exhortations to the unbelievers, to substitute the worship of the one true God in his son

Jesus, for the thirty-three millions of their hideous deities, Mahomet and Rama, hitherto mere so-so beings, turned sublime imposters and unmitigated black-guards By and by the proselytizing Colonels tempted the sepoys to Christianity with bribes, and offered promotions and other rewards to converts. They unblushingly used their influence as officers in this unholy affair. The sepoys protested, and their European officers promised to make every sepoy that forsook his religion a Havildar, every Havildar, a Subedar Major, and so on ! Great discontent was the consequence. Of course, the sepoys could hardly connect these day and night preachings, these ceaseless efforts, this enormous expenditure of money in books and tracts, with private enterprise, and were half-inclined to suspect that Government was at the bottom of all. When the sepoy grievance was made known to the public, the newspapers as a body were not for the removal of the 'Missionary Colonels'. They mostly laughed away the matter."

In the vast literature which the Indian Mutiny produced in the shape of books, pamphlets, and articles in quarterly and monthly magazines, as well as in weekly and daily newspapers, no attempt was ever made by any Christian writer to contradict the assertions or allegations set forth above. So it is natural to conclude that what the "Hindu of Bengal" wrote was true.

The "Hindu of Bengal" proceeded to say :

The Governor-General told the people in a proclamation issued in the beginning of the outbreak, that "the Government never did and never will interfere with

the religion of the natives." With regard to the first assertion, all India have silently replied to his Lordship that it is a lie!—and they are right. With regard to the second they say, "What guarantee is there that Government will not interfere with their religious practices, since it has never scrupled to break its faith and falsify its promises and professions."

It is not necessary to quote any more from this "heathen" writer. But to turn to his British editor, Mr. Malcolm Lewin, who says in the Preface :

"We are ignorant of each other, as members of society ; the bond of union has been that of Spartan and Helot. Grasping everything that could render life desirable, we have denied to the people of the country all that could raise them in society, all that could elevate them as men ; we have insulted their caste ; we have abrogated their laws of inheritance, we have changed their marriage institutions ; we have ignored the most sacred rites of their religion ; we have delivered up their pagoda-property to confiscation ; we have branded them in our official records as 'heathens ;' we have seized the possessions of their native princes, and confiscated the estates of their nobles ; we have unsettled the country by our exactions, and collected the revenue by means of torture ; we have sought to uproot the most ancient aristocracy of the world, and to degrade it to the condition of pariahs.

"What would Lord Shaftesbury, proud as he is of his birth, and zealous in the cause of Christian proselytism, say to such an innovation on his own order ?

"Agreeing as I do in the main with the writer, I see with dismay the repeated exhortations of the press to

vengeance, to war against caste, and to Christian proselytism. They only who have not had experience of the Hindus, and who have not seen their temples, which had existence many centuries before England was ever heard of, except as a land of savages, can doubt the stability of their ancient creed ; they only can be brought to a belief that the utmost power that England can put forth will be able to uproot it.

".....Nay, if a tree be known by its fruits, if the morals of England and of India are to be held as the tests of their respective creeds, India would not lose by the comparison."

III

"THE MOHAMMEDAN RELIGION MUST BE SUPPRESSED"—A POST-MUTINY BRITISH CRY

The following passage occurs in *The Calcutta Review* for March 1858, page 163 :

It would be strange indeed if the events of the passing year (a *passing* year indeed!) did not call forth a more than ordinary amount of excited speculation ; and, accordingly, on every hand, we hear the voices of the times, in various notes of declamation, urging the popular measure of the hour, "India must be Christianized"—"India must be colonized"—"The Mahommedan religion must be suppressed."--"We must abolish the vernacular and substitute our mother-tongue." Such are but a few, and by no means the most intemperate of the exclamations which at once surround and bewilder us ; and if energy of vociferation and force of lung, could recommend political measures or supply the place of reasoning and enquiry, the measures thus strenuously advocated might fairly be supposed to be among the most rational and the most practicable in the world.

We learn from an article by the Duke of Argyll that Lord Canning disregarded this anti-Moslem cry, which led to a petition for his lordship's recall, as the following extract will show :

Throughout the Mutiny Lord Canning persevered in

showing his confidence in the native races, whenever and wherever he had an opportunity of doing so. The employment of natives in civil office, long urged upon the Government of India, had been increasing during recent years. It is perfectly true that, amongst the natives so employed, there were some instances of treachery during the height of the Mutiny. But Lord Canning did not allow this fact to reverse a course of policy on which so much depends. The European inhabitants of Calcutta, in the petition which they signed for Lord Canning's recall, record it as one of the high crimes and misdemeanours of the Governor-General, "that he had lately sanctioned the appointment of a Mahommedan to be Deputy Commissioner of Patna ; and also the appointment of other Mahommedans to places of trust—to the great offence, they are pleased to add, "and discouragement of the Christian population of the Presidency."—Page 93, *India under Dalhousie and Canning*, by the Duke of Argyll ; from the "Edinburgh Review" of January and April, 1863, London, Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1865.

It was Lord Ellenborough who, as Governor-General of India, had declared it as his policy to always keep down the followers of the crescent and never show them any favour or encourage them in any way to better their lot. He wrote to the Duke of Wellington from Simla on 4th October, 1842, after the fall of Cabul and Ghazni :—

"I could not have credited the extent to which the Muhammadans desired our failure in Afghanistan, unless I had heard here circumstances which prove that the

feeling pervaded even those entirely dependent upon us.

"...The Hindus, on the other hand, are delighted. It seems to me most unwise, when we are sure of the hostility of one-tenth, not to secure the enthusiastic support of the nine-tenths which are faithful."

Again, writing to the Duke of Wellington on January 18, 1843, Ellenborough said :—

"I cannot close my eyes to the belief that that race (Muhammadans) is fundamentally hostile to us and therefore our true policy is to conciliate the Hindus."

His peculiar mentality is to be explained by the fact that his wife deserted him and became a willing inmate of the harem of an Arab chief.

Ellenborough's ill-treatment of the Amirs of Sind and annexation of that unhappy valley is to be accounted for on the hypothesis of his animus towards the votaries of the creed of Muhammad. He was alive at the time of the Indian Mutiny. It is not known how much he might have kindled the fire of hostility of his countrymen against the Muhammadans.

Why the Muhammadans incurred the wrath of Englishmen was very succinctly stated in a pamphlet published in 1858 and written by a retired member of the Bengal Civil Service, named Henry Harrington Thomas. According to him, the authors of the Mutiny were the Muhammadan conspirators. He wrote :—

"I have stated that the Hindoos were not the con-

trivers or the primary movers of the rebellion ; and I now shall attempt to show that it was the result of a Mahomedan conspiracy, which had been in agitation for a longer period than was generally suspected, though it was developed somewhat sooner than its authors had intended.....But the question is, who planned and organized this combined movement for the murder of every Christian man, woman and child throughout the country ! Left to their own will and to their own resources the Hindoos never would, or could, have compassed such an undertaking.....No ; it is amongst the Mahomedans and not the Hindoos, that we must look for the real originators of this terrible plot :.....But in order to comprehend in their full force the motives which induced the Mahomedans, more particularly than our other Indian subjects, to lay their plot for our extermination, it will be necessary to consider the character and tenets of the Mahomedans in general. They have been uniformly the same from the times of the first Caliphs to the present day, proud, intolerant and cruel, ever aiming at Mahomedan supremacy by whatever means and ever fostering a deep hatred of Christians. They cannot be good subjects of any Government which professes another religion : the precepts of the Koran will not suffer it. They deem themselves placed in a false position under any but a Mahomedan dynasty. For this reason, no favours or honours can conciliate them ; but they can dissimulate to perfection, until their opportunity presents itself ; and then their true character becomes manifest.....But in India the Mahomedans had other motives for seeking our destruction, besides their rooted anti-Christian feeling. They could not forget that they had been the masters of the country for many generations, and they never ceased to persuade

themselves, that if the British power were thoroughly destroyed they would recover their lost position and once more lord it over the Hindoos. They perceived the disaffection which had been spreading among the native regiments and fanned the flame by their intrigues. Well aware that no decisive blow could be struck without the co-operation of the Hindoo troops, and that the surest means of urging them to desperate measures, was to convince the Brahmins in the first place that their religion was in danger, the Mahomedans artfully circulated a report which was echoed by the Brahmins, that the British Government was undermining the Hindoo faith, with the covert intention of converting the Hindoos to Christianity.....In their determined character, their education and mental capacity the Mahomedans are vastly superior to the Hindoos, who, comparatively speaking, are mere children in their hands. The Mahomedans, moreover, on account of their higher qualification for business, have been more generally taken into public employ, which afforded them facilities for becoming acquainted with the measures of Government and gave weight and importance to their assertions. The Mahomedans planned and organised this rebellion (or rather revolution) for their own aggrandizement alone : and the Hindoo Sepoys of the Bengal army were their dupes and instruments. (Pp. 13-17. *The Late Rebellion in India, and Our Future Policy*. By Henry Harrington-Thomas. London, 1858.)

Again, the same writer has referred to the impossibility of converting the Muhammadans to Christianity.

"The Missionary seldom convinces a Mahomedan : the very fact of his Christianity militates against his

success. In general the Mahomedan avoids discussion with the Missionaries and he listens with impatience to their arguments, if he does not wholly turn a deaf ear to them. Of a nature less stern and obdurate, the Hindoos are frequently touched by the preachings of the Missionaries,....." (*Ibid*, p. 26).

When there was so much prejudice against the Muhammadans, it was not possible to judge the guilt of the members of that community in the perpetration of the alleged atrocities on Christians of both sexes during the days of the Indian Mutiny. *The Calcutta Review* tried to take a dispassionate view of the question, when it wrote:—

"Muhammadanism must be suppressed".

"With regard to the Mussalmans who have shown such an hostile spirit to England, we would advocate a firm and strong military policy, yet we may ask, is coercion without enlightenment to our future position towards them? Is it safe to keep *thirty millions* of men in India under the bondage of ignorance, which is so fertile a source of their aversion to us? Russia with eagle eye has long observed the *point d'appui* which the Mussalmans of India offered to her views, Persia being the connecting link: if we trample them down and give them none of that knowledge which would enlarge their mental horizon, if we make no effort to purify the moral and religious atmosphere which surrounds them, we may as well look for health in the swamps of Java as for peace from a Moslem. We drive them into the arms of Russia. We maintain that no real and decided efforts have been made as yet to enlighten the Mussalmans by

giving them knowledge in a form adapted to them: schemes of education have been framed by persons who knew as little of the Muhammadan mind as they did of the North American Indians, who thought the same system of education would equally suit the cringing, apish Bengali, destitute of all original ideas, and the Mussalman whose pride was fed by the recollections of imperial power held by his creed for five centuries in India, and by the associations connected with a race of conquerors who once invaded the soil of France itself. Five years ago, the writer of this article visited Delhi, and was perfectly surprised at the prodigious activity of the Muhammadan press in that city. Ideas end in action; so long as our policy does not aim at enlightening the Mussalman mind and lessening his prejudices, so long will the mere repressive policy of the sword only keep the flame down, but will not, cannot extinguish it...

"Many pronounce the Mussalmans irreclaimable, and yet no serious and continuous efforts have been made in India to reclaim them; you let your garden run into jungle and then complain of the jungle! Does not history point out to us the learning, refinement and toleration that prevailed at the court of Akbar in Agra, with the Khaliphs of Bagdad and during four centuries of Moorish rule in Spain? Was there no difference between the Arabs who issued wild and ferocious from their deserts after Mohammad's death and the descendants of the same men at the court of Harun al Raschid? Was not the Arabic literature and science of the middle ages the link between ancient and modern literature?"

—C.R., Vol. XXX, pp. 22-23 (Jan-June, 1858).

But the Muhammadans remained under the suspicion of the British authorities in India for

more than a quarter of a century. No "bigamist" Anglo-Indian administrator of those days ever thought of owning the Muhammadans of any part of India as his "favourite wife."

It was perhaps guided by this policy of keeping down the Muslims that the Government of the day did not restore Berar to the Nizam, but gave back Mysore to its legitimate Hindu sovereign. For, had Mysore been annexed, half of it, according to the Treaty, would have gone to the Nizam, which would have more than compensated him for the loss of Berar.

It was this policy which was perhaps responsible for the Umbeyla Campaign and the Wahabi trial and also the second Afghan War in Asia and the War with Turkey in Europe in the late seventies of the last century. Gladstone was a zealous Christian and had the spirit of the Crusader in him. Till the last day of his life, he did all he could to shear "Muhammadan" Turkey of its earthly possessions and exhorted the expulsion, "bag and baggage", of that Islamic Power from Europe. The War of 1882 and the military occupation of Egypt took place during Gladstone's Ministry.

"Blessed are the meek. for they shall inherit the Earth." So said Christ Jesus to his followers. But meekness is at a discount and not appreciated by those who possess power of any sort—

physical, intellectual or worldly. They are arrogant, proud and tyrannical. Did not Thor sing :

“Force rules the world, has ruled it, will rule it,
Meekness is Weakness, Force is triumphant.”

But meekness pays in the long run. Those who are proud and arrogant, and treat others with contempt and tyranny hasten their own downfall and destruction. Take the case of the Mahomedan power. At one time the Islamic flag, with the Crescent and the Star on it, was displayed in countries bounded by the Atlantic Ocean in the West and the Bay of Bengal in the East. About half a century ago, Turkey was one of the greatest empires in the world. But where is that Empire to-day ? Nemesis has overtaken it for its sins and iniquities, for its untold and indescribable atrocities on its non-Moslem subjects. Where are the Moorish Empire and the empire of Persia to-day ?

The name of the Great Moghul inspired terror and respect in the breasts of Christians all over the world. But what has become of the Moghul Empire now ? The later Moghuls precipitated their downfall by their tyranny, debaucheries and vices.

Muhammadians look upon Christians as people of the Book, who have, acting on the teaching of their saviour, deprived the followers of the Crescent of their earthly possessions ; for, in their estimation, the latter are not meek and hence do not deserve to inherit the earth.

IV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RESOURCES OF INDIA

In the British Government of India, administration and exploitation are convertible terms. Hence, when the English acquired political supremacy in India, their watchword was "Gold."

It was the "plunder" from India which not only enriched individual plunders but enabled the English people to build up their industries and factories. But after the Indian Mutiny, the "exploitation of India" took another shape. As the States governed by "heathen" princes were no longer to be annexed and their accumulated treasures to be plundered, ways and means were devised to enrich the natives of England at the expense of those of India. They covered their design under the euphemistic phrase "to develop the resources of India." How and why the resources of India were to be developed, was no secret. The Duke of Argyll writes :—

"Lord Stanley's suggestion was expressly made with special reference to 'the importance of affording all possible encouragement to the employment of British

capital, skill, and enterprise in the development of the material resources of India'." *

The development of India's resources was to be effected by (a) The Construction of Railways, (b) Cultivation of Cotton, (c) Concessions to British capitalists to float companies in India to work her resources, (d) Larger employment of Englishmen in India, (e) Denying self-government to India. India was known to be a very poor country. As capital was required to develop her resources, so foreign English capital was to be borrowed for the purpose. The foreign English capital was, no doubt, then a myth. But, as Lord Salisbury once said, "India must be bled," this myth was designed to do so.

That the foreign English capital was then a myth is evident from chapter VII, pp. 122-134, of the present writer's "Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries."

CONSTRUCTION OF RAILWAYS.

In the matter of the construction of railways in India, great injustice was done to the people of this country. The railways were constructed under "guaranteed securities" and with so-called English capital. There was no need of borrowing capital from the people of England, when the people of India could have lent money on those terms on which it was taken from the former.

* *India under Dalhousie and Canning*, p. 139.

But the real motive in constructing railways in India was to enrich the people of England at the expense of those of India. As was pointed out at that time, by some eminent engineers such as Sir Arthur Cotton and others, India needed metalled roads and irrigation canals for traffic purposes and not costly railways.

Then again, eight pence in the shilling expended in constructing the railways in India found their way to England. Mr. Swift Macneill said from his place in the House of Commons on 14th August, 1890 :

"It has been computed that out of every shilling spent in railway enterprise, 8d makes its way to England."*

Another motive in constructing the railways in India was to cheapen bread in England, for they would facilitate the export of wheat from this country.

Railways also, by importing the British manufactures into India, have destroyed Indian industries.

While the construction of railways in India has proved beneficial to England in many ways, it has hardly done so to India. On the contrary, it has done great harm to India. It has not only burdened the people of this country with debt and destroyed their industries, but has ruined

* Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 248, p. 1051.

This pamphlet was dedicated "by permission" to Lord Stanley, who was at that time President of the Board of Control and afterwards became the first Secretary of State for India, "in grateful acknowledgment of his Lordship's eminent public services for the development of the resources of British India (especially in reference to the cultivation of the cotton plant)."

No wonder need be expressed then for the British conquest of Sind and the Punjab !

The above-named writer concluded his pamphlet as follows :

"It is in our power to make our Eastern Empire supply the wants of Lancashire and of the world, and if we do not do so, great is our folly and enormous our guilt ! For, says Mr. Snow, the best authority on this subject, 'it is my full and firm belief that India can produce cotton equal to the American Upland, Mobile, or New Orleans, and at less *than half the cost*. And I indulge the hope, improbable as it may now appear, that Indian cotton may ultimately oust the American from the English markets ; and it is by no means impossible that we may supply America herself. Then let us not delay putting our shoulders energetically to the wheel. The game is in our hands, *if we are only determined to play it out*..'"

A prospectus was issued for the formation of the East India Cotton Company, Limited, with a capital of £ 1,000,000 in 100,000 shares of £ 10 each "for the cultivation and purchase of cotton in India."

There was also the Cotton Supply Association, of which Mr. John Cheetham, M. P., was the chairman, to whom Mr. J. B. Smith addressed a letter, dated London, January, 1859. In the course of this letter, he wrote :

"The reason why we go to America for cotton is, that we can get it cheaper there than anywhere else... Machinery almost to any extent can be made and set to work in a year or two ; but to increase the growth of raw materials is a work of slow progress, hence every effort should be made to remove all impediments, and to promote their growth in every way.

"Our great object is to endeavour to obtain cotton from other countries, on equal or better terms than from America. Can this be accomplished ?.....What country, except India, can furnish a supply within the next 20 years, that can compete with America ? India then is the country of all others to which your Association should direct their attention."

It is not necessary to quote any further from this letter to show the importance of India to England for exploitation of raw cotton. India was then made use of for the supply of the raw material and also furnished the best market for the finished cotton products of the factories of Lancashire. Whatever little money was paid to India for the supply of cotton was taken away by England with interest and compound interest, when she forced her cotton goods on her.

CONCESSIONS TO BRITISH CAPITALISTS.

As India was proposed to be colonised by Britishers, so concessions were to be granted to them to enable them to make India the white man's land. The nature of these concessions has been mentioned in "*The Colonisation of India by Europeans*" by the present writer and need not be repeated here again in detail. *

Those Englishmen who obtained concessions tried to reduce the people of India to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water and to enrich themselves by profits accruing from slave labour. A large number of those men engaged themselves in Indigo planting. This industry proved an engine of oppression, tryanny and ruin to the helpless and hapless cultivators on whom their English masters delighted in practising all sorts of refined brutalities. Official notice had to be taken of these misdeeds of the Indigo planters and several Government communications were issued, some of which aimed at whitewashing

* In his brochure on "Dalhousie and Canning" (p. 139) the Duke of Argyll wrote :

"Lord Stanley's suggestion was expressly made with special reference to the importance of affording all possible encouragement to the employment of British capital, skill and enterprise in the development of the material resources of India."

the conduct of the perpetrators of the evil deeds. *

* In his evidence before the Indigo Commission in Calcutta on Saturday 21st July, 1860, the Hon'ble Mr. (afterwards Sir Ashley) Eden, who rose to be the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, said that in his opinion the cultivation of Indigo was "in no instance the result of free agency but that it was always compulsory." Being asked to state fully "the facts, proofs, or reasons which induced" him to hold that belief, he said :

"*First*, I believe it to be unprofitable, and therefore I cannot believe that any ryot would consent to take up that cultivation, involving as it does serious pecuniary loss to himself; *secondly*, it involves an amount of harassing interference to which no free agent would subject himself; *thirdly*, from a consideration of the acts of violence to which the planters have throughout been compelled to resort to keep up the cultivation as proved by the criminal records of Bengal; *fourthly*, from the admission of the planters themselves that if the ryots were free agents, they would not cultivate Indigo; *fifthly*, the necessity under which the planters state themselves to be of spending large sums in the purchase of Zemindaries and other descriptions of rights, giving them territorial influence and powers of compulsion, without which they would be unable to procure the cultivation of Indigo; *sixthly*, the statements of ryots and the people generally in the districts in which I have been; *seventhly*, the fact that, as soon as the ryots became aware of the fact that they were by law and practically free agents, they at once refused to continue the cultivation."

It is not necessary to give any more extracts from the evidence placed before the Commission to show the manner in which the British Indigo planters behaved towards the ryots.

Tea was another industry which received great support from the Indian Government. The industry could not flourish without "slave labour." Writes Mr. Russel Smith in his *Industrial and Commercial Geography*, pp. 301-302 :—

"The Labor Factor and United States Tea Growing—

"The vast amount of hand labor in pruning and caring for tea trees and picking and curing the tea shows why the tea industry has not been developed in the United States, although it has long been known that the tea tree thrives well over an area 100 times greater than all the tea plantations in India and Ceylon. A little tea of good quality has for some years been produced near Charleston chiefly by the labour of negro children, but naturally the industry does not expand in this region of relatively high wages. It costs fifteen cents a pound to pick tea in South Carolina and the labourers there have been unable to learn a certain dexterous move that pulls a leaf without destroying the bud in the axis of its stem. To avoid this they pinch it off, leaving about one-third of the weight of the leaf.

"Tea-Districts of Minor Importance—

"Tea growing has been carried on to a small extent in a number of places throughout a rather large part of the world in which the tree would naturally thrive. Among them may be mentioned Johore in the Strait Settlements upon the Malay Peninsula, French Tonquin, Southern Burmah, Jamaica, the Fiji Islands, Madagascar, Brazil, and the Russian province of Transcaucasia. In none of these regions has it been an important success, chiefly for labor reasons."

LARGER EMPLOYMENT OF BRITISHERS IN INDIA.

One Sir Edward Sullivan, in his *Letters on India*, published in 1858 wrote :

"India opens out an almost exhaustless field for the educated labour of Great Britain, or in other words, maintains at a higher level than existing in any other country, the reward of the labour of educated men.

"...to men who weigh well [the crowded condition of every outlet for educated labour in this country, and remember how dangerous to a State the want and desperation of the educated unemployed has always been, it will appear an ample reason for striving in the utmost to retain, if not all, at least a very sufficient portion of our Indian possessions. It is no use of hyperbole to say that the marked tranquility of England when all Europe was tottering was owing not a little to the outlet India had given to her (England's) educated men." *Letters on India*, p. 29.

".....For fifty or sixty years India has been to the brains and intellect of this country what the Western States have been to the thew and sinew of America—the safety-valve that has yearly afforded an escapement for the surplus energy or ambition of our educated population. There is no mob, however numerous and violent, half so dangerous as an educated middle class irritated with want, and conscious of deserving more than the crush and competition of the multitude enable them to acquire.

"If we consider the price that is paid for educated labour in India, we shall see that it is at least twice as high as that existing in any other country." *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

In the December (1925) number of *The*

Century Magazine, the American sociologist Professor Edward Alswarth Ross wrote of Britishers employed in India that "these men probably have twice the income they could command in England."

So the policy of employing the natives of England in larger and larger numbers in India, at the expense of the natives of the soil, was best calculated to exploit the resources of India in more ways than one, and thus by impoverishing her, England meant to consolidate her power in India.*

DENYING SELF-GOVERNMENT TO INDIA.

A certain political officer, a native of Scotland and serving in India as Resident in a native State, once said to the present writer :

"We have educated you, your eyes have been opened, and so you are clamouring for your rights and privileges. But your interests and our interests clash. We cannot concede all your demands."

Then he said a good many things which it is not necessary to repeat here.

Britishers came out to India originally as "unpretending merchants" to whom Indian princes

* See also Chapter 1 of Major Wingate's "A Few Words on Our Financial Relations to India" reprinted by the present writer.

gave "every encouragement." But when they acquired political supremacy in India, they did not abandon their role as merchants and traders. They were a nation of shop-keepers and so were also Indians. Two of a trade cannot agree. Hence INDIAN TRADE AND INDUSTRIES WERE DESTROYED BY "THE ARM OF POLITICAL INJUSTICE."

India was deliberately denied self-government, because, if that were done, there was the fear of the closing of the Indian market against English goods. *

So went on severely the exploitation of India by England by the various means mentioned above, which helped greatly to consolidate her power in India.

* See Chapter IX, pp. 142-145, of *Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries*, by the present writer.

V.

REORGANISATION OF THE INDIAN ARMY AFTER THE MUTINY

The French showed the way to how easily European power could be established in India by training Indians in the art of European warfare. The natives of India were intelligent, brave, honest and amenable to discipline, but they lacked "Patriotism." This was the great discovery of the French, and one of the adventurers of that nation, named Dupleix, tried to act on it.

Following the example of the French, the English also raised corps of Indian Sepoys and fought battles to establish their political supremacy in India. The loyalty of the Indian Sepoys to their foreign military commanders was borne testimony to by many a Westerner.

But notwithstanding all his loyal services to his European masters, the Sepoy did not receive fair treatment at their hands. Never during the East India Company's rule was anything suggested or done to ameliorate his miserable condition or hard lot. He was made to work harder than his foreign comrades, who were pampered, well-clothed, housed and sumptuously fed at the expense of

his poor countrymen. In the Minute which Lord Dalhousie wrote when retiring from the Governor-Generalship of India, it was stated ;

"The lodging of the soldier has been greatly improved, and no nation can show better or more appropriate quarters for its troops than the Government now provides for European troops in the East."

His Christian Lordship mentioned in detail the many improvements made by his orders in the barracks of British Soldiers. But he did not find it necessary to do anything for the non-Christian Sepoy, for he wrote in the same Minute.

"The position of the Native Soldier in India has long been such as to leave hardly any circumstance of his condition in need of improvement."

The 'heathen' Sepoy felt the humiliation to which he was subjected by his foreign Christian masters.

The colorless foreign Christian Soldiers were mostly recruited from criminals, paupers and other disreputable people of Great Britain and Ireland.

Regarding the British soldier and the Indian Sepoy, Sir John Kaye, in his History of the Sepoy War, writes :—

"It is difficult to conceive two conditions of life more dissimilar in their social aspects than soldiering in India and soldiering in England. In England, few men enlist into the Army as an honourable profession, or seek it as an advantageous source of subsistence. Few

men enter it with any high hopes or any pleasurable emotions. The recruit has commonly broken down as a civilian. Of ruined fortune and bankrupt reputation, he is tempted, cheated, snared into the Army. Lying placards on the walls, lying words in the pot-house, the gaudy ribbons of Sergeant Kite, the drum and the fife and the strong drink, captivate and enthrall him when he is not master of himself. He has quarrelled with his sweetheart or robbed his employer. He has exhausted the patience of his own people, and the outer world has turned his back upon him. And so he goes for a soldier. As soon as he has taken the shilling, he has gone right out of the family circle and out of the circle of civil life. He is a thousandth part of a regiment of the line. Perhaps he has changed his name and stripped himself of his personal identity. Anyhow, he is as one dead. Little more is heard of him ! And unless it be some doting old mother, who best loves the blackest sheep of the flock, nobody much wishes to hear. It is often, indeed, no greater source of pride to an English family to know that one of its members is serving the Queen, in the ranks of her Army, than to know that one is provided for, as a convict, at the national expense.

"But the native soldier of India was altogether of a different kind. When he became a soldier, he did not cease to be a civilian. He severed no family ties ; he abandoned no civil rights. He was not the outcast, but the stay and the pride of his house. He visited his house at stated times. He remitted to it a large part of his pay.***The Company's Sepoys had a genuine pride in their colours, and the classes from which they were drawn rejoiced in their connexion with the paramount State. It was honourable service, sought by the very flower

of the people, and to be dismissed from it was a heavy punishment and a sore disgrace.

"In this connexion of the soldiery with hereditary rights in the soil, there was an additional guarantee for his loyalty and good conduct. He was not merely a soldier—a component unit of number two company, third file from the right; he was an important member of society, a distinct individuality in his native village, no less than in his cantonment lines. He retained his self-respect and the respect of others; and had a personal interest in the stability of the Government under which his rights were secured."

The Sepoy was also most inadequately paid. Sir Henry Lawrence predicted, as it were, the Mutiny, when, a year before that event, he wrote:

"Those who have watched events or have studied Indian Military History can distinctly trace almost all past murmurs and mutinies, we might indeed say *every one*, to some error or omission, trivial or great, of our own. Pay has been the great stumbling block. Whether in Bombay, Madras or Bengal, doubts as to the intentions of Government in regard to pay have been at the bottom of most mutinies." *

It was but natural for the Sepoy to feel strongly the undue preference that was being shown to his foreign comrade, to whom he was positively superior in many respects.

After the Indian Mutiny a Royal Commission was appointed, which resulted in still greater degradation and humiliation of the Sepoy.

* *The Calcutta Review* for March, 1856.

In a paper written in April, 1858, by one Mr. J. Caulfield, F. R. G. S., entitled "India as Connected with a Native Army", it was said :

"In the formation of our Indian Army, our mistake has consisted in attempting to bring the Sepoy up to the level of the British soldier, by giving him the same discipline, the same clothing, the same arms, and a large portion of European officers, and it has been equally as great a mistake to suppose that the Sepoy army, organised as ours is, and carried to the extent we have done, is an economical force as compared to an European one. On the contrary, it is a very costly one, and this it is not difficult to demonstrate."

Hence arose the necessity of what was euphemistically called "the re-organization of the Indian Army."

The military reconstruction deprived Indians of the right of serving in the Artillery. This branch of the military service was closed against the children of the soil, because, as wrote Mr. Caulfield in the paper already referred to before, it was "In this arm that the Indians acquire the greatest proficiency".

The "efficiency" of the Native Indian regiments was to be effected by organising them on the principle of "Divide and Rule" and never encouraging the Sepoy to take the initiative in any matter but to depend always on his colourless Christian officers. The arms and ammunitions supplied to him were not the same with which his foreign Christian comrade was equipped.

The grievances of the Sepoy were many and various, and never any attempt was made to ameliorate his lot. He was made to feel his inferiority in every respect. Yet with all these, he was expected to make bricks without straw.

Lord Shaftesbury asked :—

“Who, then, were the mutineers, and from whom arose this fugitive rebellion ?”

The Christian Lord found no difficulty in answering the question to his satisfaction when he declared that the rebellion

“arose from a monster of our own creation ; it arose from an army pampered, flattered, and under-worked.”

Hence it was suggested to do away with this army altogether and to replace it with European troops. In a pamphlet on “Indian Policy,” published anonymously from London in 1858, it was stated :

“A main feature in the scheme of the simple-solutionists is the employment of the European Army alone. The advantages of this plan are obvious, but there are two objections considered severally fatal : 1st we cannot afford the men ; 2nd, the expense”.

After demolishing these objections, the Christian writer proceeded :

“After the discussions of the last year in the public-prints, I think I need hardly say much about the general impolicy of keeping any native army whatever. We have been practically shown that the more natives we keep the more Europeans we must keep to watch them ;...

"One great advantage of my scheme is that it would enable the Indian executive to act rightly by the people of India when it knew its duty, without fear. It would enable it to substitute an Income tax (or some other tax on the rich) for the cruel salt monopoly ; it would enable it boldly to profess Christianity ; it would relieve it from cringing to caste—no more subscriptions to idolatrous rites, no more deference to pretended Sepoy scruples.....In fine, with a solely European army, we have the power to do right if we have the knowledge and the will ;.....

"Another objection to a European army solely is that we should be in a manner robbing the natives of their birthright in taking their countries' revenue and paying it wholly to strangers. But if a purely European army is cheaper than a mixed one, India will gain the difference of the expense.....

"Another objection to the European army in conjunction with the absolute Governor-General, is that the said Governor-General might manage a *coup d'état*, and set up as a kind of Louis Napoleon in India. This idea.....is, to my mind, perfectly laughable."

This English writer preferred Eurasians to pure-blooded Indians in the Indian Army ; for he said :

"As regards Eurasians, it is part of my general Indian policy to conciliate them in every way, and admit them to all the services on liberal terms. All should have a fair opportunity to enter the army whose native blood did not exceed eight annas in the rupee."

But it was not possible, feasible or politically expedient, to have an exclusively European Army

in India. So the next best thing suggested was to have an Army of men recruited from the other tropical countries of the world. Thus wrote Mr. Caulfield :

"A certain proportion of the natives of warm climates must always form a portion of our Indian army for the performance of certain fatigue duties for which we ourselves, the people of a temperate region, are unfit ; but the number of such troops ought to be as small as possible, and they ought to be considered as mere auxiliaries."

The mercenaries from other warm climates who were considered desirable for the Indian army were the Arabs, Burmese, Malays, and African Negroes. The descendants of the Arabs, known as Moplahs, were recruited in the Indian army after the Indian Mutiny and were formed into several regiments.

Regarding the Negroes, the above-named writer said :—

"African Negroes of the East and West coasts have been repeatedly mentioned as likely to afford a suitable material for our Indian army, but the objections to their employment are insuperable. They must be imported into India at a cost as great as that of Europeans, and they must be officered by British officers, or they would be good for nothing.... We had at one time a small corps of them in Ceylon ; but they were found dull and deficient in intelligence, and as soldiers much below the Malays serving with them."

Regarding the Malays, he wrote that they

"are everywhere a scanty population, and more a maritime than a land or terrestrial people. We have a corps of them called the 'Ceylon Rifles,' but even this small one with the help of the Malay colony settled in the island by the Dutch, it is difficult to keep up."

The Burmese at that time were not considered good enough for the Indian Army.

So, the circumstances were such that natives of India had to be recruited for the rank and file of the Indian Army. But, henceforth, preference was not to be given so much to those who had been British Indian subjects for generations, but to those who were subjects of the Native States and in a sense foreigners. The Gurkhas of Nepal, the Pathans of Afghanistan, the Dogras of Jammu, the Rajputs of Rajputana, the Marathas of the Maratha States in the Deccan, the Sikhs from Patiala were enlisted in larger and larger numbers, with a sprinkling of recruits from other races, classified as 'fighting', inhabiting British India.

But the question naturally arises whether the Sepoys deserved the severe punishment that was inflicted on them after the suppression of the Indian Mutiny.

The Duke of Argyll, when in office as Secretary of State for India, writing his brochure on "India under Dalhousie and Canning," said :

"Lord Canning did not believe in a conspiracy of the

whole native army,...when the Mutiny began he had, in the whole extent of the Lower Provinces, only about 2,400 European troops. The Native Army within the same limits exceeded 29,000 men. Yet these are the provinces in which alone the Mutiny never assumed dangerous proportions." (P. 94).

Again he wrote :

"There was hardly one of the battles we fought and gained in which we did not depend largely on native troops...At no period of our rule did we trust them more, at none did they better justify our trust." (*Ibid*, pp. 100-101.)

If there was no conspiracy of the whole Native Army—or, even of the majority of the same, why was the whole of that Army indiscriminately punished? The Native Sepoys had just grievances against their Christian masters, who were guilty of "bad faith" towards them. Colonel Malleson writes :—

"It was bad faith to our Sipahis which made their minds prone to suspicion ;....."

"The bad faith towards the Sipahis goes back so far as the period immediately succeeding the first Afghan War."

Then Malleson refers to the breach of faith towards the Sipahis in the double batta question.

"The Government punished the Sipahis for declining to fulfill a contract which the Government had broken."

Thus, according to Malleson, the Sipahis had grievances against the Government which was guilty

of "bad faith" towards them. Where was the necessity then of reducing their number and replacing them as far as possible by foreign Christian mercenaries ? Some time before the outbreak of the Mutiny, the authorities were considering the question of making India the training ground for British soldiers. In the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXVI, p. 177, Sir Henry Lawrence quoted a French Baron, named Bazencourt, who, in "Five Months in the Camp before Sebastapol," wrote :

"The English...experienced a great misfortune at the commencement of the expedition. A defective internal administration decimated their forces more effectually than war. There was amongst them an amount of demoralization of which I cannot give the terrible account.....It is the war in Africa which preserved us. We owe our safety to our habits of encamping, and to our expeditions into the interior of countries. The necessity thus incurred of making provision for the smallest details has been of the greatest utility to us in the Crimea."

Then Sir Henry Lawrence wrote :—

"India is England's Africa, if she knew how to avail herself of its opportunities. But such is not the case. Here we have our camp life, and our expeditions ; how many benefit thereby ?"*

The occurrence of the Mutiny afforded them a pretext to carry into execution their long

* See the article "Who Should Pay the Piper"? in the *Modern Review* for October, 1908, p. 332.

meditated proposals of flooding India with British troops and depriving the children of India of the right of serving in the Artillery.

India was made to pay the cost of the Mutiny and bear all expenses connected with the recruiting and training of British soldiers in England and their transit to India. Major Wingate writes in his once celebrated pamphlet, "A Few Words on Our Financial Relations with India :—"*

No inconsiderable portion of the public debt and military expenditure of this country, has been incurred for colonial wars, and other objects connected with our foreign possessions ; † but even the great mutiny and revolt of 1857, which imperilled our Indian empire, and our standing as a first-rate European power, failed to induce us to bear any portion of the cost of restoring our shaken supremacy. If ever there was an occasion which called for great sacrifices on the part of the British people, it was certainly this, when the brightest jewel in the British crown was in danger of being torn

* This pamphlet has been reprinted by the present writer.

† Some authorities estimate that as much as two hundred millions of our national debt is traceable to war and other expenditure incurred through our having colonies, besides incalculable sums contributed by the mother-country, through the operation of differential duties imposed on foreign produce for the protection of the colonial producer.—Major Wingate's footnote.

from our grasp ; but even in this crisis of our history the selfish traditions of our Indian policy prevailed, and with unparalleled meanness, we have sought to transfer the entire cost of a perilous struggle to uphold our own empire, to the over-burdened finances of India. The attempt will fail; but the spirit which dictated it, is not the less evident or blameable on that account. How strange that a nation, ordinarily liberal to extravagance in aiding colonial dependencies and foreign states with money in their time of need, should, with unwonted and incomprehensible penuriousness, refuse to help its own great Indian empire in its extremity of financial distress !

In order to bring more clearly into view the extent of our national delinquency in this matter it will be desirable to place before the reader more specific information in regard to the burdens so unscrupulously heaped on the previously overloaded finances of India. It appears from the Army Estimates lately presented to the House of Commons, that there were then, 91,897 men of all ranks of Her Majesty's regular army, serving in India, who were all paid by the Indian Exchequer. Of this there may be not much reason to complain, though, if stationed in the colonies, these troops would all be paid by the British Exchequer ; but, over and above the men serving in India, there were on the 1st of February last, no less than 16,427 men at various depots of the Indian regiments, who, though stationed in this country, are also paid by the Indian Exchequer. That is to say, upwards of sixteen thousand men of the garrisons of the United Kingdom, available for any emergency that might occur in this country, are, on the trivial pretence of their belonging to depots of Indian regiments, transferred to the Indian establishment and

paid from the Indian revenues !* Thus when regiments are transferred to the Indian establishment, the entire disbursements on account of the officers and men of such corps, even when they are serving in the United Kingdom, is charged upon the revenues of India. Nothing of the kind is done in the case of British troops serving in any other dependency, and a regiment stationed at Ceylon, for instance, almost within sight of the shores of India, would be paid by the British Exchequer.

The worst, however, is not yet told, for it would appear that when extra regiments are dispatched to India, as happened during the late disturbances there, the pay of such troops for six months previous to sailing is charged against the Indian revenues and recovered as a debt due by the Government of India to the British army pay-office.

The money due from the Indian Government was the debt incurred for the cost of the drill, rations and clothing of the extra regiments sent to India, which for six months was charged against the Indian revenue.

In the crisis of the Indian mutiny, then, and with the Indian finances reduced to an almost desperate condition. Great Britain has not only required India to pay for the whole of the extra regiments sent to that country, from the date of their leaving these shores, but has demanded back the money disbursed on account of these

* General Peel, in his speech on the Army Estimates, made in the House of Commons on the 4th of March last, enumerated these 16,427 men, forming the depots of regiments in India, as part of a total force of 105,685 men, which he took credit for having available for the defence of the country. See General Peel's speech in the "Times" of March 5th, 1859.

regiments for the last six months of their service in this country, previous to sailing for India. There may be good reasons for the adoption of a course that reminds one of Brennus throwing his sword into the scale which determined the ransom of the vanquished Romans; but as we had the services of the men, and as their pay for the period in question was spent in supporting the industrious classes of this kingdom, and could have been of no benefit to India, we are laid under a moral obligation to explain the principles of justice or of honest dealing by which we have been guided in throwing this additional heavy charge upon the over-burdened finances of India.

The reorganisation of the Indian Army not only increased the amount of the tribute of India to England but it emasculated the people, made Indian Sepoys inefficient and unfit for leadership. This state of affairs gave great satisfaction to Britishers. So much so, that Lord Roberts did not feel ashamed to write in his "Forty-one Years in India" that "Indian soldiers, like soldiers of every nationality, require to be led; and history and experience teach us that Eastern races (fortunately for us) however brave and accustomed to war, do not possess the qualities that go to make leaders of men, and that Native officers, in this respect, can never take the place of British officers."

Lord Roberts should have mentioned that this was the effect of the changes introduced by the East India Company's Government.

How this came to pass can be learnt from Kaye and Malleison's *History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8*, Vol. I, pp. 148 *et seq.* The authors write thus of the first Sipahi levies and their native commandants:—

"How they fought in the attack on Madura, how they fought in the defence of Arkot, how they crossed bayonets, foot to foot, with the best French troops at Gudalur, historians have delighted to tell. All the power and all the responsibility, all the honours and rewards, were not then monopolised by the English captains. Large bodies of troops were sometimes dispatched on hazardous enterprises under the independent command of a native leader and *it was not thought an offence to a European soldier to send him to fight under a black commandant.* That black commandant was then a great man in spite of his colour. He rode on horse-back at the head of his men, and a mounted staff-officer, a native adjutant, carried his commands to the Subadars of the respective companies. And a brave man or a skilful leader was honoured for his skill as much under the folds of a turban as under a round hat."

The authors have also described the process of the native commandant's degradation and consequent deterioration.

"The founders of the Native Army had conceived the idea of a force recruited from among the people of the country, and commanded for the most part by men of their own race, but of higher social position—men, in a word, of the master-class accustomed to exact obedience from their inferiors. But it was the inevitable tendency of our increasing power in India to oust the

native functionary from his seat, or to lift him from his saddle, that the white man might fix himself there with all the remarkable tenacity of his race. An Englishman believes that he can do all things better than his neighbours, and, therefore, it was doubtless with the sincere conviction of the good we were doing that we gradually took into our own hands the reins of office, civil and military, and left only the drudgery and the dirty work to be done by the people of the soil. Whether, if we had fairly debated the question, it would have appeared to us a safer and a wiser course to leave real military power in the hands of men who might turn it against us, than to cast upon the country a dangerous class of malcontents identifying the rise of the British power with their own degradation, it may now be difficult to determine. But any other result than that before us would have been utterly at variance with the genius of the English nation and, theorise as we might, was not to be expected. So it happened, in due course, that the native officers who had exercised real authority in their battalions, who had enjoyed opportunities of personal distinction, who had felt an honourable pride in their position, were pushed aside by an incursion of English gentlemen, who took all the substantive power into their hands, and left scarcely more than the shadow of rank to the men whom they had supplanted. An English subaltern was appointed to every company, and the native officers then began to collapse into something little better than a name.

"As the degradation of the native officers was thus accomplished, the whole character of the Sipahi army was changed. It ceased to be a profession in which men of high position, accustomed to command, might satisfy the aspirations and expend the energies of their

lives. All distinctions were effaced. The native service of the Company came down to a dead level of common soldiering and rising from the ranks by a painfully slow progress to merely nominal command. There was employment for the many, there was no longer a career for the few. Thenceforth, therefore, we dug out the materials of our army from the lower strata of society, and the gentry of the land, seeking military service, carried their ambitions beyond the red line of the British frontier, and offered their swords to the Princes of the Native States."

VII.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

One of the proposals for the consolidation of the Christian Power in India, after the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, was what was euphemistically called "provincial autonomy," but which was really the policy of "Divide and rule." Before the Parliamentary Committee on the Colonization and Settlement of the Britishers in India, Major G. Wingate, who appeared as a witness on 13th July, 1858, on being asked,

"7771. You speak of the dangers that arise from a central government and you say that it leads to a community of aims and feelings that might be dangerous?" answered: "Yes, I think that if there be any one subject in which the whole population of India would be interested, that is more likely to be dangerous to the foreign authority than if a question were simply agitated in one division of the empire; if a question were agitated throughout the length and breadth of the empire, it would surely be much more dangerous to the foreign authority than a question which interested one Presidency only".

"7772. *Mr. Danby Seymour.*

"Is what you mean this, that all the people of India might be excited about the same thing, at the same time?" "Yes."

He gave expression to the feeling which was uppermost in the minds of the Britishers at that time, not to do anything which might "amalgamate" the different creeds and castes and provinces of India. So everything was being done to prevent the growing up of a community of feelings and interests throughout India which would make the peoples of India politically a nation. Of course, they have been a nation in a different sense since antiquity.

VIII.

CENTRALIZATION OF POWER

Wrote a certain British officer,

"I would reward good conduct (of natives) with honour, but never with power.---

"Nullam imperium tutum, nisi benevolentia munitum.
The goodwill of the natives may be retained without granting them power, the semblance is sufficient; and although I abhor in private life that maxim of Rochefaucult's which recommends a man to live with his friends as if they were one day to be his enemies, I think it maybe remembered with effect by the sovereigns of India."^{*}

This was the counsel of perfection on which the authorities acted after the suppression of the Indian Mutiny in order to consolidate their power. No opening was left in the Army for ambitious and deserving natives of this country. Everything was kept under the control of the foreign bureaucracy, in whose hands power was thus centralized, and the interests of the millions of the "heathens"

* Appendix to Report from Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company, 1832, Vol. V. (Military), pp. 480-483 (Captain P. Page's Memorandum).

were seldom attended to by main n authority. This led to the destruction of the ancient social hierarchy of India. Major Evans Bell wrote :—

"In almost every province we have done our best or worst, to sweep away every link between the Government and the tiller of the soil. Over the greater part of the Madras Presidency the Princes, the nobles, the Polygars and the Zemindars, have sunk and expired under the exactions and confiscations of our system, and we have handed the ryot to the tender mercies of the Cornum and the Tehsildar. The genial relations of landlord and tenant have been dissolved, the ancient social hierarchy has been destroyed and the leisured class has disappeared."*

* Quoted by D. E. Wacha in "Indian Polity," p. 43. Bombay, 1895.

IX.

ENACTMENT OF CRIMINAL LAW IN INDIA

The Charter of 1833 saddled India with a Law Member, the first being Macaulay. He prepared the Penal Code, but this was not enacted so long as the East India Company ruled India. It was after the abolition of that Company of Christian adventurers, not "gentlemen," and the transfer of the Government of India to the Crown, that Macaulay's draft of the Penal Code became the law of the land.

The great Irish orator, Edmund Burke, described the Irish Penal Code as

"well-digested and well-disposed in all its parts : a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance and as well-fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people and the debasement in them of human nature itself as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man."

The Indian Penal Code is much worse than the Irish one. The principle of the equality of men in the eye of the law has not been observed in it throughout. It has greatly emphasised the color bar in India. This, with the Criminal Procedure Code, has made it very difficult, if not impossible, for an Indian victim of the colorless

European criminal to obtain due redress or justice. There can be very little doubt that the enactment of the criminal law was designed to consolidate the Christian Power by depressing Indians by always keeping the sword of Democles hanging over their heads.

Regarding Law in general, an eminent jurist, named William Godwin, has said :—

“Law is an institution of the most pernicious tendency.”

Whatever excesses or barbarities the man in authority commits, he does in the name of Law and Order. Nowhere is this more evident than in India.

X.

ADAPTATION

Adaptation is a law of nature on which great stress has been laid by evolutionists since the days of Darwin and Wallace. In the struggle for existence, it is the fittest who survive. Fitness consists in adapting oneself to the environment. After the Indian Mutiny, some natives of England came to realize the importance of adaptation in consolidating their power in India *The Calcutta Review* (Vol. XXX, p. 32) wrote :

"We trust that adaptation may be the keynote to our future Indian policy. There is a wide gulf between the Oriental and European mind, it lies in the *nature of things*, in climate, race, association, historical reminiscences,—these we cannot alter, do what we can, and in the vain attempt to do so, we might be like the frog in the fable, who burst in the attempt to make himself like an ox. There may be union without unity ; as for forcing "acts of uniformity", whether in religion or language, in India, all past history shows it to be vain. The gulf between the Oriental and European mind must remain, but there may be two useful bridges thrown over it—Christianity and knowledge ; English ideas to tell on the country must be cast in the Asiatic mould, and given in forms suitable to the Oriental mind."

They remembered that it was by adapting themselves to their environment in India that the French succeeded in making themselves popular there. Heber wrote in his well-known *Travels* :—

"I took this opportunity of inquiring in what degree of favour the name of the French stood in this part of India, where, for so many years together, it was paramount. I was told that many people were accustomed to speak of them as often oppressive and avaricious but as of more conciliating and popular manners than the English Sahibs. Many of them had completely adopted the Indian dress and customs and most of them were free from the exclusive and intolerant spirit which makes the English, wherever they go, a caste by themselves, disliking and disliked by all their neighbours. Of this foolish, surly, national pride, I see but too many instances daily, and I am convinced it does as much harm in this country. We are not guilty of injustice or wilful oppression, but we shut out the natives from our society, and a bullying, insolent manner is continually assumed in speaking to them."

But when the English discovered that they could not colonize India, they bade good-bye to adaptation. Nothing more was said about it as a means of consolidating their power in the country.

XI.

AN EMPIRE ADRIFT

India was never governed by the British on any consistent policy. It was unknown in the history of India under the East India Company. But this became so glaring that it led the cynical Marquis of Salisbury to declare :

"We have not the power to give permanent force to a new policy. Can we enact that our successors shall do exactly that which we are not doing—forebear from altering their predecessor's work? Sir Louis Mallet notes a long series of inconsistencies in the course of the Indian Government. Have we any grounds for thinking they will cease? They are not merely subjects of reproach; they are a warning of the fashion after which our Indian Government is made. By the law of its existence it must be a government of incessant change. It is the despotism of a line of kings whose reigns are limited by climatic causes to five years. Whatever power exists in England is divided between a council of which the elements are fluctuating, and a political officer whose average existence amounts to about thirty months. It would be absurd to expect from this arrangement a persistent and systematic policy, if the policy is to depend on the will of the Government. We might indeed commence a new policy with some confidence, if the state of opinion in the services and among

Anglo-Indians here was such as to give assurance that it would be sustained ; but of that security there is no appearance. Any sharp change of measures would not be a natural development. It would be "Octroye" by the present Government, and would be at the mercy of any succeeding Government to set aside ; and another link would be added to the chain of inconsistencies that would present themselves to future criticism."—*Notes on Indian Land Revenue.*

Thus it was considered the best means of consolidating the Christian power in India to govern it on no consistent policy. But the only consistent policy in governing India was what the same peer indicated by saying, "India was congested and must be bled."

XII.

KEEPING INDIA IN DEBT

A century's experience had taught the European administrators how easily Indian princes were tempted to contract debt ; and then their inability to liquidate the same made them part with their territories and become pensioners of the East India Company. This was one of the easiest means by which a large portion of the map of India was dyed blood-color by the British.

Sir John Lawrence and other British administrators of the Punjab discovered another process of keeping Indians in debt by forcing the natives of the Punjab to advance money during the Indian Mutiny. Writes Bosworth Smith :—

"The forced loan at the rate of 6 per cent. interest which early in the Mutiny had been levied by order of Sir John Lawrence in different districts of the Punjab, had been raised with some difficulty, for the visits of the tax-gatherer are never pleasant, and the money-loving Sikh was not likely to give his money readily in support of a doubtful cause ; but raised it had been. And it proved a master-stroke of policy, for it supplied us with funds when we needed them most sorely, and bound the land-owners and merchants to the cause of our

Government by ties the force of which they could not fail to recognize." *

There was nothing new or extraordinary in this process of keeping Indians in debt. The Europeans had practised it in other lands and succeeded in planting their colonies there. Writes an anthropologist of note :

"While the hostile collision of the (American) Indians with the Europeans caused their wholesale destruction, peaceful intercourse with the whites was not less injurious to them. Careless of the future, the Aborigines of North America readily disposed of large tracts of land. In most cases they were largely imposed upon, and the consequences were always distressing. To mention only one instance, the Creeks in less than forty years disposed of a territory of about twenty-eight millions of acres ; and though other lands were assigned to them, *these belonged to the whites as their creditors.*" †

Acting on these principles, heavy loads of debt were placed on the backs of the natives of India. Major Wingate says in his pamphlet on "A Few Words on our Financial Relations with India" (first published in 1859 and reprinted and published at Allahabad in 1926) that tribute was being paid by India to England for her being a "conquered" country and a dependency."

Major Wingate adds (pp. 3 et seq) :—

* Bosworth Smith's *Life of Lord Lawrence*, Vol. II. p. 308.

† Waitz's *Anthropology*, p. 151.

Tribute is a payment made by one country to another in consequence of subjection. It is a transference of a portion of the annual revenue of the subject-country to the ruling-country, without any material equivalent being given in exchange. Its effect is, of course, to impoverish the one country, and to enrich the other ; and wherever these conditions are fulfilled a tribute exists, whether the annual payment be so styled or not. The exaction of a tribute from India, as a conquered country, would sound harsh and tyrannical in English ears ; so the real nature of the Indian contribution has been carefully, though possibly unwittingly, concealed from the British public under the more inoffensive appellation of Home Charges of the Indian Government."

"The aggregate remittances made by the Indian Government for the purpose of providing for the home charges, during the seventeen years from 1854-35 to 1850-51, amounted to the vast sum of £57, 600, 159, according to a return presented to Parliament in 1852. Of this amount, upwards of six millions were expended for military and other public stores transmitted to India ; but with the exception of this, and a few other unimportant items, that country appears to have received nothing whatever in exchange for the capital withdrawn. The money was expended here in meeting the liabilities of the Home Government of India for dividends on East India Stock ; Bond Debt ; furlough and retired pay to the Indian military marine, and civil services ; cost of home establishments and buildings ; payments to the army pay office on account of Her Majesty's troops stationed in India ; and various other minor charges. A little reflection will satisfy any candid enquirer that this expenditure only benefited the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, among whom the money was spent ; but did

not benefit at all the inhabitants of India, from whose taxation the money was provided. It was a clear addition to the annual income of this country obtained from the revenues of India, and was, in fact, a tribute paid by that country to Great Britain. It transferred a portion of the capital of the former to the latter country, and to that extent impoverished the one, and enriched the other. The economical effect of this tribute is not at all altered by the fact, that the home charges are connected with the government of India. That may well be so, and yet not avail to disprove the consequences of transferring large portions of the Indian revenues to be spent in supporting the industry of the United Kingdom".

"The fifty millions of public remittances which have just been noticed, did not, however, constitute the whole of the tribute paid by India to this country during the seventeen years preceding 1852. Large private remittances were also annually made by the English in India, during this period, for the support of their children or relatives in this country, and for the transference of their fortunes to this country, with a view to their final retirement from India."

"The funded debt of the Government of India, borrowed in India, is estimated at nearly sixty millions sterling, of which three-fifths, or thirty-six millions, is the property of our own countrymen. The whole, or mostly the whole of these thirty-six millions, consists of investments by Europeans in India out of money made in that country, and constitute, therefore, a clear addition to British property, gained through our connection with India, as does also the property of our fellow countrymen invested in India, in banks, etc".

After the suppression of the Indian Mutiny India was punished and so the amount of the "Tribute" was enormously increased, which the finances of India not being able to pay led her to incur debt, heavy interest on which further depressed her.

XIII.

THE QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION

In the "*Rise of the Christian Power in India*" (Vol. V, pp. 414 *et seq.*) the author has mentioned the circumstances which led Her Majesty Queen Victoria of England to issue the Proclamation while assuming the Government of India. The people of India, in the simplicity of their hearts, looked upon the Proclamation as the Charter of their liberties. In fact, they were hypnotised by it, and this had no small share in consolidating the British Power in India. They did not know what the well-known historian Freeman has said regarding royal proclamations in general, *viz.*, "We are here in the chosen region of lies." It does not, however, necessarily follow that Her Majesty Queen Victoria wanted to deceive the people of India. She may have issued the Proclamation in all sincerity. But British statesmen and politicians have generally treated it as no better than what royal proclamations are in the opinion of Freeman. For example, the Marquis of Salisbury said regarding the pledges given by England to India that they were of the nature of "political hypocrisy."

Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, K. C. S. I., D. C. L. was once the Law Member of the Government of India. He knew what he was writing when he said:

"The Proclamation has no legal force whatever. The Act of Parliament has no force beyond the legal effect of its words. Neither can bind the Indian Legislative Council, which ought to be guided in the exercise of its discretion solely by its own opinion of the merits of the measure submitted to it, and the extent of its legal authority. There is much misapprehension on this subject. The Proclamation is often supposed to have been authorized by the Act for the Government of India, but this is not the case. The only reference in that Act to any proclamation at all is in section 73, which says: 'This Act should be proclaimed in the several Presidencies and Governments of India as soon as conveniently may be after such Act has been received by the Governor-General.' It was accordingly proclaimed on the 1st of November, 1858, and thereupon the Act came into force. No doubt, those parts of the Proclamation which relate to the rights of native princes would, in the relations between the Indian Foreign Office and those princes, be properly regarded as binding promises, but the rest of the Proclamation has no legal value whatever, and in particular, it does not and cannot restrict the powers of the Indian Legislative Council given by the Indian Councils Act, 1861, which was passed three years afterwards....As a ceremonial, the Proclamation may have been proper, but in any other point of view it is a mere expression of sentiment and opinion, worth as much as the sentiments and opinions expressed would have been

without it, and no more. For my own part, I look with great dislike on vague statements of broad principles which have not the force of law and are not guides as to the expediency of any given measure, and are yet invested with a kind of solemnity by the authority which makes them."—*Letters on the Ilbert Bill*. Reprinted from *The Times*, London. Macmillan & Co. 1883. Pp. 39-40.

More comments on the Queen's Proclamation are not needed.

XIV.

"OVERAWING" AND "STRIKING TERROR INTO" THE PANJABIS

Perhaps no other province in India was acquired by the East India Company by more "Christian" methods than the Punjab. Hence the peculiarly "Christian" treatment meted out to the Sirdars and people of the land of the five rivers as narrated in the "Rise of the Christian Power in India," Vol. V., pp. 377-79. And hence arose the desire to convert it into a model "Christian" province.

It is on official record that but for the Punjab, India would have been lost to England in 1857. The Punjab had to be rewarded for her loyal services rendered during the Mutiny. The Punjab was the best recruiting ground for the Native Indian Army. So after the Indian Mutiny, steps were taken to reward the Punjab by depriving her sons of the right to serve in the Artillery ! Because the natives of the Punjab were very or rather extra-loyal, therefore, a more oppressive system of Government was established over them by the servants of the East India Company !

It was, therefore, that cold-blooded judicial

murders by such highly-professing Christians as Sir John Lawrence and Sir Robert Montgomery were the order of the day in the Punjab during and for some time after the Mutiny. One Frederick Cooper, belonging to the "Heaven-born Service" and the author of "The Crisis in the Punjab" was not ashamed to write :

"One of the most portentous features of the insurrection in Hindoostan, was official ingratitude and disloyalty. We have read of judges and collectors mocked with a trial and murdered deliberately by their native official subordinates, principally, if not always, Mahomedans. Even in the Punjab, where the people were as yet on the whole loyal, the execution, by orders of Mr. Montgomery, of a Subadar of a Sikh Battalion, of the resaldar of the mounted police, and of the gaol darogah for "having failed in their duty to the State" was necessary, to show publicly in the eyes of all men, that at all events the Punjab authorities adhered to the policy of overawing, by a prompt and stern initiative (the only way to strike terror into its semi-barbarous people), and to the last would brook nothing short of absolute, active, and positive loyalty. Government could not condescend to exist upon the moral sufferance of its subjects."*

Referring to this, John Malcolm Ludlow writes in his "*Thoughts on the Policy of the Crown towards India*", pp. 180-181, Allahabad reprint :—

Men like Mr. Frederick Cooper, who in the face of

* "*The Crisis in the Punjab*," pp. 151-152.

God and man, dare to boast of the butchery, or death by suffocation, of nearly 500 of their fellow-creatures as of the "ceremonial sacrifice" of a "Christian," should be made distinctly to feel at the hands of every one of their fellow-countrymen, from the Sovereign to the poorest of her subjects, that righteous horror which is due to acts which transcend the grasp of human punishment.*

No messages of mercy can avail, while it is liable to be belied and perverted by such instruments. "Cooperism," and the Queen's sway over India, are two incompatible things henceforth. Those who choose to perpetuate the one must forego their allegiance to Victoria.

* "See this hideous story in Mr. Cooper's book, "The Crisis in the Punjab," pp. 152-70. The men in question belonged to a disarmed regiment, whose rising must have been a very panic of self-defence. They were jaded fugitives, craving for mercy. They were more numerous than their captors, and had to be decoyed into their power by a sham of leniency, planned as such devil's deeds usually are, amidst "intense mirth." Some on being led to execution, "petitioned to be allowed to make one last salaam to the Sahib." One of the Sikh executioners swooned away at the 150th who was shot. The narrator seems proud to compare the suffocation of 45 with the Black Hole of Calcutta, and the well into which the bodies are thrown with that of Cawnpore. The hasty sanction given by Sir John Lawrence and Mr. Montgomery to such acts cannot absolve them. (John Malcolm Ludlow's footnote in his "*Thoughts on the Policy of the Crown towards India.*")

There is no reason to suppose that the order given by Montgomery was a hasty one. It was deliberately given. Thurlow writes in "*India under the Company and the Crown*," pp. 82-83, Allahabad reprint :—

Under Providence all this has been effected by a pleasant-looking man of middle height, whose benign appearance militates against the known severity of his decisions. In him regular attendance at divine service, audible repetition of the responses, and large participation in all missionary works, did not prove incompatible with, displace, or even mitigate, the readiness with which he had resort to capital punishment, or applauded a liberal use of rope by the junior members of his administration. This peculiar feature in a man so gifted as Sir Robert Montgomery has not escaped the keen observation of some previous writers, and Mr. Martin quotes, in his 'Progress and Present State of British India', a letter dated "Lahore, Sunday, 9 A. M.", wherein the Lieutenant-Governor congratulates Mr. Frederick Cooper, one of his so-called hanging commissioners, in the warmest terms, on the manner in which the 20th Regiment of Native Infantry had been by him blotted out of the book of life for some imagined signs of disaffection, adding, "Three other regiments here were very shaky yesterday, but I hardly think they will go now. I wish they would, as they are a nuisance, and not a man would escape, if they do." Mr. Martin holds that this rejoicing over the extermination of a thousand men, and eagerness to find a pretext for the destruction of three thousand more, reads strangely from the pen of one of the most prominent advocates for the propagation of Christianity

in India, but it explains in his eyes why "our success as subjugators has been attended by failure as evangelists." The fact is that Sir Robert ruled in virtue of power received from others, ever stretched by him to its utmost limits, not by the suffrage of mankind at large; and could at any moment the third Napoleon's invention of the plebiscite have been introduced, throughout the land of the five rivers, at that moment Sir Robert would have ceased to reign. He governed rather by reason of the machinery at his command than by his personal ascendancy; and it may be questioned whether attributes like his would have shone with equal lustre in the piping times of peace as in the years of the Mutiny and reconquest that little short of his prosperity could have adorned.

Such being the training ground of the Christian civilians in the Punjab, they developed a mentality* which found expression in the Jallianwalla Bag massacre in 1919.

* The mentality of the average Christian Britisher living in the Punjab as regards the people of this country is shown in the following letter published in the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore on September 5, 1906, over the Signature of "Sagittarius" :—

"I take no alarmist view, but regard the whole subject calmly and rationally. Not only myself but many others must surely see daily the increasing impertinence, disrespect, officiousness and disloyalty of the subject race. I wish to lay special emphasis on the words *subject race*; for the native of India, be his position and salary what it may, should and must understand that British blood has conquered India and rules it, and

Delhi people had to be punished on account of the Mutiny, and, therefore, they were handed over to the tender mercies of the public servants after the Mutiny. As long as the Punjab frontier was under the Punjab Government, there was the

respect and deference must be shown to it at all times and in all places."

Mr. William Archer, who has quoted the above passage in his book, entitled "India and the Future," pp. 113-114, gives one or two more extracts from the same paper.

"Let the Babus clearly understand that we have admitted them into the administration as our servants, not as our partners. A partnership between Europeans and natives there must inevitably be," but it must be "with the ruling classes, not with the servile classes."

Again :

"Already discerning people in England must be beginning to see that even half-a-dozen princely counsellors of the intellectual type of the Maharaja of Bikanir would be worth a whole parliament of babbling B.A. s."

Yet again, from a letter signed "Fifty Years in India" : "When *Swadeshim* degenerates into ruffianism, unveiled disloyalty and racial antagonism, I say again, 'Sjambok'!"

The author rightly says :--

"The senseless swagger of such utterances is directly due to the idea that we have some sort of Providential mandate to rule India for ever and a day, and that our right is founded, not on administrative capacity, but on an inborn genius for despotism, in which every white-skinned shop-boy has his share." P. 115, William Archer's *India and the Future*.

Frontier Law which knew only hanging or transportation for all serious crimes.

It would thus appear that "striking terror into" the people of the Punjab was one of the means adopted for consolidating the Christian Power in India.

The Punjab was to be kept "loyal" and, therefore, education in that province was attempted to be orientalised. This idea was favored by most of the Christian administrators and even missionaries. Their cry was for an oriental university in the Punjab.

It was the Mahomedans who were the greatest sufferers at the hands of the Europeans at the time of the Mutiny. Proportionately, more of them were summarily tried and executed and mercilessly ill-treated than the Hindus. It made the last titular Emperor of Delhi write :—

"Lakhon begunanhon ko diya fansi,"

(That is, hundreds of thousands of innocent people were hanged.)

But the Mohamedan being now recognized as the "favourite wife," it would not do to remind her of the treatment meted out to her during the Mutiny. No ; some British writers are trying to suppress this fact by all means in their power. Thus, the *Pioneer*, which was considered the leading Christian daily in India, while admitting that "after the capture of cities like Lucknow and

Cawnpore too many innocent Hindus were summarily tried and executed'', deliberately suppressed the fact of the Mohamedans being the greater sufferers.

Frederik Cooper proceeds in the chapter of of his book the opening lines of which have been quoted above :—

Suffice it to say that it was reported at mid-day on the 31st July, that they were trying to skirt the left bank of the Ravee, but had met with unexpected and determined opposition from the Tehseeldar, with a posse of police, aided by a swarm of sturdy villagers at a ghat twenty-six miles from the station. A rapid pursuit was at once organised.

At four o'clock, when the district officer arrived with some eighty or ninety horsemen, he found a great struggle had taken place : the gore, the marks of the trampling of hundreds of feet, and the broken banks of the river, which, augmented with the late rains, was sweeping in a vast volume, all testified to it. Some 150 had been shot, mobbed backwards into the river, and drowned inevitably : too weakened and famished as they must have been after their forty miles' flight to battle with the flood. The main body had fled upwards and swum over on pieces of wood, or floated on to an island about a mile off from the shore, where they might be descried crouching like a brood of wild fowl. It remained to capture this body, and having done so, to execute condign punishment at once.

Everything natural, artificial and accidental favoured the attempt and combined to secure the fate of the mutineers. So cool was the day that no horses were knocked up, though the riding was very heavy, and

the distance they had made (twenty-six miles) from Umritsur was great. The sun was waxing low, and the dispirited mutineers probably would magnify the numbers of the reinforcing party ; and, moreover, probably would think that the Tehseeldar, with all the villagers who had attacked them so warmly in the first instance, was still on the bank flushed with recent triumph, and eager with accession of strength ; whereas, in fact, many had gone in pursuit of stragglers some ten miles off. These were the calculations of the district officer, and they turned out not amiss.

There were but two boats, both ricketty, and the boatmen unskilled. The presence of a good number of Hindoostanees among the sowars might lead to embarrassment and "accidental" escapes. The point was first how to cross this large body to the main land, if they allowed themselves to be captured at all, after the model of the fox, the geese, and the peck of oats. This was not to be done under two or three trips, without leaving two-thirds of the mutineers on the island under too scanty a protection and able to escape, whilst the first batch was being conveyed to the main bank nor also without launching the first batch, when they did arrive, into the jaws of the Hindoostanee party, who in the first trip were to be left ostensibly "to take care of the horses" on the main land. From the desperate conflict which had already taken place, a considerable struggle was anticipated before these plans could be brought into operation.

The translation of the above fable to the aged Sikh Sirdar, who accompanied, and to the other heads of the pursuing party, caused intense mirth, and the plan of operations after this formula elicited general approval.

So the boats put off with about thirty sowars

(dismounted of course) in high spirits ; most of the Hindoostanee sowars being left on the bank. The boats straggled a little, but managed to reach the island in about twenty minutes. It was a long inhospitable patch, with tall grass ; a most undersirable place to bivouac on for the night, with a rising tide ; especially if wet, dispirited, hungry, without food, fire, or dry clothing. The sun was setting in golden splendour, and as the doomed men with joint palms crowded down to the shore on the approach of the boats, one side of which bristled with about sixty muskets, besides sundry revolvers and pistols, their long shadows were flung far athwart the gleaming waters. In utter despair forty or fifty dashed into the stream and disappeared, rose at a distance, and were borne away into the increasing gloom.

Some thirty or forty sowars with matchlocks (subsequently discovered to be of very precarious value) jumped into the shallow water and invested the lower side of the island, and being seen on the point of taking pot-shots at the heads of the swimmers, orders were given "not to fire." This accidental instruction produced an instantaneous effect on the mutineers. They evidently were possessed of a sudden and insane idea, that they were going to be tried by court martial after some luxurious refreshment. In consequence of which sixty-six stalwart sepoys submitted to be bound by a single man deputed for the purpose from the boats, and stacked like slaves in a hold with one of the two boats emptied for the purpose. Leaving some forty armed sowars on the island, and feeling certain that after the peaceful submission of the first batch (or peck of oats) the rest would follow suit and suit, orders were given to push off.

On reaching the shore, one by one, as they stepped out of the boats, all were tightly bound ; their decorations and necklaces ignominiously cut off ; and under guard of a posse of villagers, who had begun to assemble and some Sikh horse, they were ordered to proceed slowly on their journey back, six miles to the Police Station at Ujnalla. Meanwhile the Hindoostanees (the geese) had been despatched to the island back in the boats with an overawing number of Tawana* sowars ; and it was gratifying to see the next detachment put off safely ; though at one time the escorting boat got at a great distance from the escorted, and fears were entertained that escape had been premeditated. However, by dint of hallooing, with threats of a volley of musketry, the next invoice came safely to land, and were subjected to the same process of spoliation, disrobement and pinioning. At any moment, had they made an attempt to escape, a bloody struggle must have ensued. But providence ordered otherwise, and nothing on the side of the pursuing party seemed to go wrong. Some begged that their women and children might be spared, and were informed that the British Government did not condescend to war with women and children.

The last batch having arrived, the long straggling party were safely but slowly escorted back to the Police Station, almost all the roads being knee-deep in water. Even this accident, by making the ground so heavy—not to mention the gracious moon, which came out through the clouds and reflected herself in myriad pools and streams, as if to light the prisoners to their fate—aided in preventing a single escape.

It was near midnight before all were safely lodged

*Raised near Shahpore.

in the Police Station. A drizzling rain coming on prevented the commencement of the execution ; so a rest until daybreak was announced. Before dawn another batch of sixty-six was brought in, and as the Police Station was then nearly full, they were ushered into a large round tower or bastion.

Previously to his departure with the pursuing party from Umritsur, the Deputy Commissioner had ordered out a large supply of rope, in case the numbers captured were few enough for hanging (trees being scarce), and also a reserve of fifty Sikh Levies for a firing party, in case of the numbers demanding wholesale execution, as also to be of use as a reserve in case of a fight on the island. So eager were the Sikhs that they marched straight on end, and he met them half way, twenty-three miles between the river and the Police Station, on his journey back in charge of the prisoners, the total number of which, when the execution commenced, amounted to 282 of all ranks, besides numbers of camp-followers, who were left to be taken care of by the villagers.

As fortune would have it, again favouring audacity, a deep dry well was discovered within one hundred yards of the Police Station, and its presence furnished a convenient solution as to the one remaining difficulty, which was of sanitary consideration—the disposal of the corpses of the dishonoured soldiers.

The climax of fortunate coincidences seemed to have arrived when it was remembered that the 1st of August was the anniversary of the great Mahomedan sacrificial festival of the Bukra Eed. A capital excuse was thus afforded to permit the Hindoostanee Mussalman horsemen to return to celebrate it at Umritsur ; while the single Christian, unembarrassed by their presence, and

aided by the faithful Sikhs, might perform a ceremonial sacrifice of a different nature (and the nature of which they had not been aware of) on the same morrow. When that morrow dawned sentries were placed round the town to prevent the egress of sight-seers. The officials were called and they were made aware of the character of the spectacle they were about to witness.

Ten by ten the Sepoys were called forth. Their names having been taken down in succession, they were pinioned, linked together and marched to execution ; a firing party being in readiness. Every phase of deportment was manifested by the doomed men, after the sullen firing of volleys of distant musketry forced the conviction of inevitable death ; astonishment, rage, frantic despair, the most stoic calmness. One detachment, as they passed, yelled to the solitary Anglo-Saxon magistrate as he sat under the shade of the Police Station performing his solemn duty, with his native officials around him, that he, the Christian, would meet the same fate ; then, as they passed the reserve of young Sikh soldiery, who were to relieve the executioners after a certain period, they danced, though pinioned, insulted the Sikh religion, and called on Gungajee to aid them, but they only in one instance provoked a reply, which was instantaneously checked. Others again petitioned to be allowed to make one last "salaam" to the Sahib.

About 150 having been thus executed, one of the executioners swooned away (he was the oldest of the firing party), and a little respite was allowed. Then proceeding, the number had arrived at two hundred and thirty-seven, when the district officer was informed that the remainder refused to come out of the bastion, where they had

been imprisoned temporarily a few hours before. Expecting a rush and resistance, preparations were made against escape ; but little expectation was entertained of the real and awful fate which had fallen on the remainder of the mutineers ; they had anticipated by a few short hours their doom. The doors were opened, and behold ! they were nearly all dead ! Unconsciously the tragedy of Holwell's Black Hole had been re-enacted. No cries had been heard during the night, in consequence of the hubbub, tumult and shouting of the crowds of horsemen, Police, Tehseel guards and excited villagers. Forty-five bodies, dead from fright, exhaustion, fatigue, heat and partial suffocation, were dragged into light, and consigned, in common with all the other bodies, into one common pit, by the hands of the village sweepers.

One Sepoy only was too much wounded in the conflict to suffer the agony of being taken to the scene of execution. He was accordingly reprieved for Queen's evidence, and forwarded to Lahore with some forty-one subsequent captures from Umritsur. There, in full parade before the other mutinously-disposed regiments at Meean Meer, they all suffered death by being blown away from the cannon's mouth. The execution at Ugnalla commenced at daybreak and the stern spectacle was over in a few hours. Thus, within forty-eight hours from the date of the crime, there fell by the law nearly 500 men. All the crowds of assembled natives, to whom the crime was fully explained, considered the act "*righteous*", but incomplete, because the magistrate did not hurl headlong into the chasm, the rabble of men, women and children, who had fled miserably with the mutineers : they marvelled at the clemency and the justice of the British.....

The above account, written by the principal actor in the scene himself might read strangely at home ; a single Anglo-Saxon supported by a section of Asiatics, undertaking so tremendous a responsibility, and coldly presiding over so memorable an execution, without the excitement of battle, or a sense of individual injury, to imbue the proceedings with the faintest hue of vindictiveness. The Governors of the Punjab are of the true English stamp and mould, and knew that England expected every man to do his duty and, that duty done, thanks them warmly for doing it. The crime was mutiny, and had there even been no murders to darken the memory of these men, the law was exact. The punishment was death.

Political reasons also governed the occasion, and led to the decision as to immediate execution. Nicholson had left for Delhi, and was far on his road to Ludhiana. This fact was as well-known to every mutinous corps as if it had been heralded trumpet-tongued through the bazaars. Nearly three months had elapsed since the first outbreak, and still Delhi was untaken. Nothing could be more gloomy than the aspect of affairs at this time. In the Doab, there was no less than seven and a half disarmed regiments, besides two armed Hindustanee Irregulars of doubtful allegiance. Such an opportunity for an immediate and tremendous example never presented itself before, and might never do so again. To transport three hundred and twenty disciplined and desperate sepoys, after refreshing them, was almost as difficult as confining them with a due regard to safety for so short a time ; much embarrassment for escort might have been produced, and perhaps a "sensation" created among the disarmed Poorbeah regiments at Umritsur, who might have been seized with an impulse

to rescue. The effect on the whole Doab, and upon the mind of native society, has not proved to have been overestimated : for since the extinction of this regiment there has been no "sign" among the native troops therein located. Had the 26th N. I. escaped, or even had their punishment been less terrible and instantaneous, the whole of the disarmed regiments would of a certainty have followed their example, and consequence, which it were fruitless now to speculate upon, but easy enough to conjecture, might have ensued. Their extermination probably saved the lives of thousands. In his proclamation on the subject, the Chief Commissioner wrote : "It is fervently hoped that the signal and summary punishment which has overtaken this corps, may deter all others from committing atrocious and wanton murders which have disgraced the name of the Bengal Sepoy."...

Further on, the same rapid fate pursued the miserable residue. The gallant Major Jackson of the 2nd Irregulars (still performing active service), went out, and pushed on so fast that he outrode his party and encountered forty of them. He attacked, killed and wounded several, and being in a swamp, got surrounded and wounded, himself. Going further on, the desperate remnants fled by Madhupur, and Messrs. Garbett and Hanna, with the utmost gallantry (the village people being negatively loyal), dashed out and performed repeated feats of gallantry almost unaided ; for which they received the merited thanks of the Government. The few remnants have since been brought in and executed. There is a well at Cawnpore, but there is also one at Ajnala.

The annexed letters are appended as a proof that no officer in the Punjab can do his duty without instant and warm recognition. They were received by the Magistrate the day after the occurrences narrated. The

first letter is from the Chief Commissioner, Sir John Lawrence, G. C. B. ; the second, from the next highest authority in the Punjab. They are highly characteristic, and redound to the honour of both. Their perusal will sensibly diminish the wonder why the Punjab Government is so successful.

*Demi-official from Sir John Lawrence. K. C. B.,
Chief Commissioner for the Punjab.
Lahore, 2nd August, 1857,*

My dear Cooper,—

I congratulate you on your success against the 26th N. I. You and your police acted with much energy and spirit and deserve well of the State. I trust the fate of these sepoys will operate as warning to others. Every effort should be exerted to glean up all who are yet at large.

Roberts will no doubt leave the distribution of the rewards mainly to you. Pray see that they are allotted with due regard to merit, and that every one gets what is intended for him.

Your sincerely,
Sd. John Lawrence

Frederick Cooper Esq., D. C.
Umritsur

(Copy)

D. O. from Robert Montgomery Esq., Judicial Commissioner for the Punjab.

Sunday 9 A. M.

My dear Cooper,—

All honour to you for what you have done, and right well you did it. There was no hesitation or delay, or drawing back. It will be a feather to your cap as long as you live.

Get out of the wounded man all you can, and send him to Lahore, that he may himself proclaim what has been done. The people will not otherwise believe it.

Better write an official report, and place the whole on record. Bring forward all persons who did well. Do this judiciously. I mean discriminate between the medium, the good, and the super-excellent.

Prima facie, the Tehseeldar deserves apparently great praise. Were they baulked in getting the boats? and how? Had the Tehseel people knowledge that the 26th N. I. had broken out, or did they first ascertain it on seeing them?

You will have abundant money to reward all and the Sikhs (executioners) should have a good round sum given to them.

I congratulate you very heartily on your success. There will be some stragglers, have them all picked up, and any you get send *us* now. You have had slaughter enough. We want a few for the troops here, and also for evidence.

Believe me, yours sincerely,
Sd. R. Montgomery

F. Cooper Esq., D. C.

P. S. The other three regiments here were very shaky yesterday, but I hardly think they will now go. I wish they would, as they are a nuisance; and not a man would escape if they do.

Sd. R. M.

Lord Canning, who, through evil report and good report, has steadily insisted on discriminating justice, at once accorded his high commendation of the summary proceedings narrated in this chapter.

"The Crisis in the Punjab" contains narratives of many other gruesome incidents, out of which one is reproduced below.

"In a previous chapter we have depicted the position of 300 of H. M.'s 81st and 12 Europeans, H. E. I. C. S. guns as they disarmed four regiments N.I. at Mean Meer. The annexed diagram will show another imposing spectacle. The first terrible evidence of the British Government "*asserting itself*" to the death, was about to be given. A Subadar Major of the 51st had been captured and hanged, boasting that he had been a rebel for more than a year, and that the English rule was at an end. On this man's person was found 900 rupees. He inquired what was to be done with his money : having, no doubt, in his mind some testamentary disposition to make, and revolving therein the question as to residuary legatees. He was informed that after deducting 84 rupees, the price of the gallows on which he was to swing, the balance would be credited to the State. Twelve men of his regiment were hanged two days after him in a row, on full parade of all troops : and subsequently the awful punishment of blowing away from guns was inflicted upon forty of the 55 mutineers. The pacific English mind will observe the position of the gallows, (see p. 67), and will comprehend the feelings of the forty doomed men ; the last batch of whom had to be dragged up almost senseless to their merited fate. The impossibility of a rescue would, owing to this snug disposition, appear at a glance to the most interested spectators. A Mr. Rich, M.P., moved for a return of mutineers blown away from guns, but the motion was not seconded. General Cotton, who knows no squeamishness, will no doubt be happy to supply him with

every information as to the draconic code in force, and which he was the first to execute." Pp. 66-69.

It may not be inappropriate to indicate briefly why, in this book and in some of his other

works, the present writer has used the word "Christian" in referring to the servants of the East India Company and their rule. Frederick Cooper, author of "The Crisis in the Punjab", writes in the preface to that book :—

"From Delhi to Calcutta lay a clear field for mutiny and insurrection. The sepoy army had become intoxicated with their sense of power. Every heart prayed, though few dared hope, for the Christians scattered over that boundless area." P. xiv.

The concluding paragraph of the preface runs as follows :—

"The following pages will show how just was the confidence placed in the loyalty and honour of the chieftains of Puttiala, of Jheend, and of Bikaner. The aim with which they have been written is to depict how the Punjab Government...embarked on a series of operations based on one broad grand line of policy : which...must for ever remain to the world a monument of wisdom and self-denying heroism : but that wisdom and that heroism are still but mere dross before the manifest and wondrous interposition of Almighty God in the cause of Christianity." P. xvi.

Frederick Cooper concludes his book on "The Crisis in the Punjab" with the following words :—

"The continent of Europe during the great struggle [the sepoy war] might have been looking on with ill-dissembled glee at Great Britain's fancied extremity : whereas the harbinger of her greatest triumph has already heralded the down-fall of the seat of Islamism in

India. To those fond of reading signs, we would point to the solitary golden cross still gleaming aloft on the summit of the Christian Church in Delhi, whole and untouched ; though the ball on which it rests is riddled with shots deliberately fired by the infidel populace. The cross symbolically triumphant over a shattered globe !" P. 246.

CONCLUSION

Some of the important measures adopted by the British to consolidate their power in India have been mentioned in the preceding pages. The most important consideration with the Christian natives of England was to change the mentality of the "heathen" natives of India. They tried hard to induce a *canine mentality* in the latter. It is, therefore, necessary to explain what is meant by the expression *canine mentality*.

The dog is a very useful creature to man and is very faithful. Some thoughtful writers of the Christian countries of the West have not hesitated to say that the dog looks upon man as his god and is, therefore, faithful to him. But if the dog is so faithful to men, in what manner does he behave towards others of his species? Why, one dog cannot bear the sight of another dog, and hence "the bone of contention" amongst dogs has come to be a proverb.

Man is the god of the dog. This notion perhaps led Sir Lepel Griffin boldly to announce, "We (English) stand in the relation of Providence to the people of India"!

In order that canine mentality might develop among the people, steps were taken to prepare a soil favourable to its growth. How it was done would be understood from the paragraphs which follow.

Lord William Bentinck was the Governor of Madras in the early years of the nineteenth century. He made one of his Councillors, Mr. William Thackeray, indite a Minute, in which it was stated:

"It is very proper that in England a good share of the produce of the earth should be appropriated to support certain families in affluence, to produce senators, sages and heroes for the service and defence of the state..... but in India, that haughty spirit, independence, and deep thought, which the possession of great wealth sometimes gives, ought to be suppressed. They are directly adverse to our power and interest."*

Sir George Campbell, under the *nom de plume* of "Economist", advised Lord Dalhousie to annex the Punjab:

"Do not buy the consent of such people to a 'treaty of annexation'. Take a more straightforward and wiser course. In regard to those who have really some claim to be considered the *nobility* of the country, Sikh Chiefs, and Jagheer-possessing Sodics, Gooroos, etc.—I would only say, keep them down as much as possible. A well-satisfied and *unimpoveryished* nobility may be all very well to European notions, but, if we are to rule in Asia, we are much better without them.....Such people should be reduced to a reasonable subsistence, so that they may neither be driven entirely desperate nor retain more than is good for them and for us."†

The brave Sikhs, who for a time kept the British at bay in the Punjab, were called Singhs or Lions. After the annexation of that Province, such steps were taken as the effect of destroying their leonine mentality. How this

* Quoted in *Rise of the* Vol. IV, p. 448.

† Quoted in *Rise of the* Vol. V, p. 269.

MEMORANDUM
SIR J. N. R. L. A. India
D. P. R. I.
ACC. NO.

happened will be understood from what has been narrated in *Rise of the Christian Power in India*, Vol. V. pp. 377-379, and in some chapters of the present work.

The first five royal Viceroys, *viz.*, Canning, Elgin, Lawrence, Mayo and Northbrook, tried to consolidate the Christian Power in India by basing their policy on the measures mentioned in the preceding pages. The most central figure of them all was that of Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence. Brought up as an Anglo-Indian bureaucrat and belonging to the school of Lord Dalhousie, he did all he could to consolidate the Christian Power in India by adopting those steps which prevented the Punjab from joining the Indian Mutiny. It was during his Viceroyalty that there occurred a severe famine in Orissa, which may be said to have been a consequence of the policy pursued after the suppression of the Indian Mutiny. Henceforth famines in India became more frequent than before. These famines were directly or indirectly due to the manner in which the resources of India were being "developed," which in plain language meant draining away the resources of the land.

Malaria decimated several parts of the land, because, among other reasons, the people had lost their power of resistance to diseases, and so fell easy victims to them.

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